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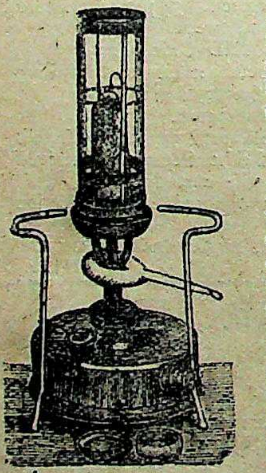

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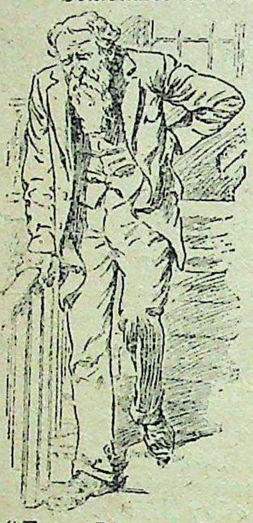

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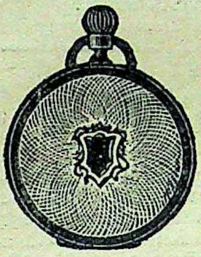

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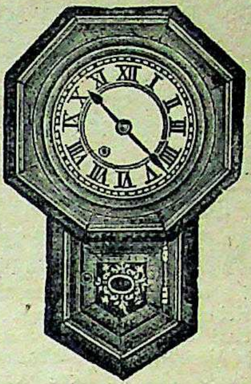

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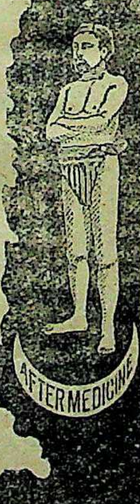

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IMPERIAL OBLIGATIONS.

By Mr. Edward E. Long.

WHAT are imperial obligations? Surely the answer depends upon the definition of the word "empire," and if this is to be construed in the highest sense, as, in the case of the British empire, one hopes it is to be, then imperial obligations must mean obligations to accomplish the highest and noblest aims of humanity, both amongst the peoples under the Imperial sway, and, so far as possible, amongst those without; but certainly amongst those within. An empire, if it is to be built to last, must be founded upon the good-will of its people, and where the people of an empire are composed of many races, differing in colour, customs, manners and religion, as in the case of the British empire, there is a greater need for good-will as the cement binding together the imperial structure. We shall be told that empires are founded on force. Yes, but to last?—For that is the question. Where are the empires of the past; Egypt, Assyria, Greece and Rome, these are but memories to-day, and even as one writes, an empire, or an imperial dynasty, founded on force, is crumbling to pieces before our eyes. What Egyptians, Assyrians, Greeks, and Romans have failed to do, what the Manchus in China are just discovering to be impossible, can we Englishmen expect to accomplish if we tread in their footsteps, and rely on the force fetish? Is no nation of the present to profit from the mistakes of the nations of the past? What is the purpose of history, but to point out the steps by which nations rose and the welfare of humanity was advanced; and the pitfalls into which nations fell, when they opposed themselves to the interests of humanity and disregarded the general well-being?

There is a school of thinkers—if one can use the words 'school' and 'thinkers' in such connection—which professes to believe that empires are all of a pattern, built to fall. That as Rome fell; so must Britain. In the first place this is sheer fatalism; in the second, it denotes lack of thought, rather than its presence. All that one is justified in assuming is that if Britain follows in the footsteps of Rome, she is exceedingly likely to fall. Empires are not eternal, but their duration depends upon the principles of those who sway them, and it is not too much to say that had the principles which actuated the policy of the empires of the past been of a more worthy type, the history of the world would have been very different from that which it has been. There is a Providence which watches over the world's destiny, and from empires and individuals alike, extracts all that makes for the world's progress. Whilst the balance of an empire remains on the credit side, and humanity as a whole, benefits by reason of its existence, Providence allows it to continue, but when the balance reverts to the other side, and that which was an instrument of assistance to humanity becomes one of oppression, then Providence steps in and that empire falls.

The great empires of the past, each in their turn, contributed to progress. Egypt and Assyria taught the infant humanity of their days that foundation of agriculture and the mechanical arts then needed, and upon which has arisen that mighty structure common now to the advanced nations of the world. Greece, with art, and her love of the beautiful, illumined her times, and laid the ages that were to follow under a debt of gratitude; Rome gave her citizens law and order, and taught the world to respect *Civis Romanus*—in whom that law and order were typified. Spain followed Rome, had naught to teach save lust of gold and fierce religious bigotry; and fell, quickly; and on the ruins of that empire, Britain rose—rose as the deliverer, the champion of freedom, the protector of oppressed peoples, the exponent of civil and religious liberty and the respecter of human life. To the world at large, Britain gave a new moral code—that there were rights to the weak, as well as to the strong; to the black as well as to the white; and in the teeth of bitter opposition, she proceeded to enforce her code: it will be for the historian of the future to say just what the enforcement of that code contributed to human progress.

On the foundation of this new moral code—of justice for all, the weak and the strong, the rich and the poor, the white and the black, the Christian and the man of other religion, the empire of Britain was built. That was its mainstay—it cannot be gainsaid. In the early days of the empire, many things were done which, seemingly, were inconsistent with that code, but in judging them, we have to bear in mind that the world is very different now, from that which it was then, and that the chief reason of that difference, one which makes us inclined to view some of the deeds of the pioneers of empire with stern disapproval, is the enforcement of the moral code which they, paradoxical as it may sound, were instrumental in commencing to enforce. One does not pretend that the Englishmen of the days of Elizabeth, and the Stuarts, and of Hanoverian times, were saints, seized with the idea of converting the world to better ways. One knows full well that love of gain and adventure was the prime factor in inducing them to leave their homes and seek their fortunes overseas, but one does not forget that in the midst of their pursuit of fame and fortune, they were actuated by higher moral motives than their precursors, that they behaved better, to the people amongst whom they found themselves, whom, in some cases, they fought against and conquered than others, who had pursued this quest before them, than others who were pursuing it together with themselves. Let there be no mistake about the meaning of this argument. The writer does not seek to gloss over the deeds of sixteenth and seventeenth century freebooters because they were Englishmen. A throat cut by one of Drake's men, or a home plundered, is what it is—a crime against humanity, and not to be excused, but there were fewer throats cut, and with even greater opportunities, and there were fewer homes plundered, also with ever greater opportunites, by the men who sailed under Drake, than we have to say to the account of the Spaniard, and, for the matter of that, the Frenchman. Nor did the Englishman in foreign lands ever descend to the depths of crime to which other Europeans descended in their dealings with coloured and weaker races. The Englishman, even of those days, stood for an advance in the moral code, and be it remembered that many Englishmen, who were by no means averse to privateering and filibustering expeditions, or running a cargo of slaves to the plantations, were just as ready to shed their blood in defence of religious and political liberty in the Low Countries against the bloody Alva, and to defend the Hugenots against the wrath of France.

It must also be borne in mind that not all Englishmen in those days were adventurers, on their own, or their government's account. Britain can point with the finger of honest pride to men like Penn, Fox, and Milton, as the real pioneers of her empire—the advance guard of that new morality, or new aspect of morality she was determined to enforce; and later came the noble Howard—to open the prison gates of Europe and spend health and fortune in succouring the most miserable of mankind, of his own, and other, races. Howard was a boon Britain conferred upon the world, and other gifts to humanity were to follow—Burke, who dared to raise his voice in the empire's hall of parliament against the ills of British administration in an eastern land; Clarkson and Wilberforce, who freed Britain from the reproach of slavery and set the world the glorious example of an empire of free men, and then in later times down to our own, came Shaftesbury, to teach the rich man the world over his duty to the poor, the employer of labour his duty to his employee; Peel, patriot before partisan, unable to turn the deaf ear of party to the cries of his fellow-countrymen, languishing under the cruel burden of the corn laws; Palmerston, daring to brave the wrath of his Sovereign and champion the cause of a nation striving to win its independence; Bright, so staunch to the cause of peace that he forsake career, rather than identify himself with that war he condemned, and strove against, and King Edward, the apostle of peace in the highest place, who, as King of England and Emperor of the British, exercised in his time the mightiest influence in the direction of preserving the peace of nations the world has ever known.

These men, and the influence they have exercised, are the balance in which Britain will be weighed and her worth determined. Every empire has its opportunity. It is not expected to perform great works in the hour of its inception, but long-continued delay in taking the right course, or swerving dangerously from that course, once taken, militates against its existence. In the hour of its birth the British empire was not great, but it was greater than any of those peoples outside, some of whom, as, for instance, the Spaniards and the Portuguese, had had their chance, or, to be more correct, were being tried and found wanting. In dispossessing others, in conquering new lands, Britons believed that they were introducing a new *regime*, which would prove to be superior to the old. The pioneers of the British empire in the lower sense—bold, bad, rough men as they were—though probably not greater sinners, according to their lights, than are many of us to-day—believed in the mission of empire to this extent—that it would be better for the world at large were all men to live up to the standard of British morality. They may have held that since some peoples had to be conquered, it was better for them to be conquered by Englishmen ; it was better that Dutchmen, Spaniards, and Frenchmen should be turned out, and Englishmen permitted to enter—because they were better men. And who, having regard to the record of other European races in conquered and otherwise settled lands overseas, shall say that of all the Englishman has not proved the best—that his standard has not been the most helpful to the people amongst whom it has been introduced ? This is no argument in favour of extension of territory at the expense of weaker peoples, on the plea that they are unable to manage their own affairs, therefore these must be managed for them. It is merely an attempt to review what has happened, whether for good or for evil, and show what lesson the past has for the present in regard to the imperial obligations of British statesmen, and British peoples, particularly the self-governing ones, to-day.

The writer maintains, that, in the main, the British empire is founded on the goodwill of the people of the empire ; that the empire has grown and flourished because its influence, thus far, has preponderated for good. Conquest has played its part in the assimilation of territory, though in many cases, as in the case of India, peaceful trading, and aid rendered in time of trouble to a weak government, have been the means of large extension of boundaries ; and where conquest alone stands as the right to the soil, it has been softened by a wise and just administration, wiser, and more just, than the parent land of the empire itself experienced when it was invaded by the Norman and held by right of conquest only. However, in whatever shape, possession of the various parts of the British empire has come, once possession has been secured, there has been shown a determination to introduce the British standard of morality and justice, and to gain the goodwill of the people by working in their interests, and for their eventual good. That has been the general trend of British administration ; in particular instances, the opposite has seemed to have occurred—sometimes it seems to occur now ; but we must judge British policy as a whole, and not in parts, to gain a reliable understanding as to its general effect, whether it is for good or for ill, and, judged as a whole, that policy will, the writer believes, stand the test of criticism.

But all this is of the past, and just verging on the present. What of the actual present, and what of the future? Day by day imperial obligations take different shape—they widen, with the advent of new ideas, become weightier, and more complex, as new problems spring into being, and the responsibility of empire can be determined only by a searching examination of the new order of things, by having regard to the new environment, and by seeking for the light of duty in the altered circumstances. The conscience of an empire must expand, as that of an individual, if right and lasting growth is desired. No problems can be shirked because they appear to be too large ; the self-induced blindness of the ostrich will not ward off the danger the future threatens. Growth is the law of nature, and the growth of an empire depends upon its treatment of the questions of the day, and its attitude regarding the problems of the immediate future. But what of the questions that face the statesmen of the empire at the present day? They are many, and grave. One of the most serious, perhaps *the* most serious is—that of the status within the empire of the coloured citizen. When, over fifty years back, Queen Victoria gave a charter to the people of India, it was a charter entitling them to imperial citizenship. Every Indian became a citizen of the empire, free to move within its limits, to live wheresoever he pleased under the sheltering ægis of the Union Jack. Similary, of other coloured races within the empire, it was understood, though in their case no charter was given, that they possessed rights of citizenship in common with white citizens of the British empire. But time passed, white British settlers overseas grew strong, helped to strength in some instances largely as the result of coloured British labour, and in all under the care of the Motherland, and presently challenged the rights of the coloured British citizen to dwell within the borders of the land the white British citizen termed his own. A new situation had arisen, largely brought about by coloured competition in the labour market, but not stopping there, for the arrogant white colonists insisted on retaining the right to exclude coloured citizens of birth and education ; and the statesmen of the empire failed to rise to the occasion, failed to face the situation in the true imperial sense: they wavered first, then temporised, and to-day that great and vital question remains—undecided, threatening the future of the empire, challenging its reputation for justice and fair play. One of the foremost of imperial obligations is the settlement of the status of the coloured citizen, and in a manner which bears out the intention of the past, as interpreted by Britain's great Empress; one in which alone justice can be done and the goodwill of the coloured peoples of the empire maintained.

Then there is the question of India's future. Here, no one can say that thus far imperial statesmen have sought to evade their responsibility. Within the past five years, as the result of very visible evidence of a new situation—a new demand, which had, however long lain maturing—much has been done to give the people of India a larger voice in the administration of the country. It has never been said that what has been done is final; no one who thinks, thinks it is; it can be the commencement, only, of measures to satisfy the new demand. According as the demand increases in volume—as it will increase, with the increase of education, and the spread of new ideas—so must the measures adopted be extended in scope—if the good-will of the Indian people is to be retained. And if imperial obligations are to be discharged faithfully, the demands of the coloured citizens of the empire in the direction of autonomy must be met in the same generous spirit as that in which British statesmen of a past age met the demands of the white citizens of the empire overseas for fuller powers of self-government—when the coloured citizens of the Empire shall have shown themselves as fit and capable of wielding the powers they ask for as the white citizens overseas have proved themselves. It is an imperial obligation to define a standard of fitness for self-government; it is also an imperial obligation to confer autonomy on any citizens of the empire—be they white, yellow, brown or black, when that standard shall have been reached. One thing cannot be done—if the British empire is to stand and to continue the good work it has done and is doing; race barriers cannot be maintained—as race barriers. There cannot be two laws within the one empire. When Rome conferred the rights of citizenship upon the African or the Arabian, he had but to say '*Civis Romanus sum*', to claim those rights with any white citizen of the Roman empire: and this recognition of the natural rights of man must obtain in the empire of Britain—if that empire is to remain firm-based, and to last.

The highest and noblest of imperial obligations binding upon the statesmen of the empire to-day is that which bids them defend the weak within the empire against the strong—and make them strong. No family can remain united in which the elder children are spoiled and petted at the expense of the younger members, —for the younger ones *will* grow up—it is the law of nature, and for the manner in which they grow up, the parents are responsible. The strong meat with which the elder children are regaled, must not be offered to the younger children until they can digest it with ease and safety ; but when it is apparent that that age of digestion has been reached, it will harm these children if it be withheld, and force them, perchance, to seek sustenance outside the family circle. To secure a strong and united family, the needs of each child must be studied and attended to. And so within the wide confines of the British empire—greatest the world has ever known, each division of its peoples must be studied, with a view to providing for its welfare, and the welfare of the whole. To so regulate matters that here progress shall not be too rapid, there too slow, above all, to see that the elder brother shall never prey upon the younger and weaker brother, but shall lead him—to higher things, and that all shall work together for the common good, and the good of humanity, may well prove to be a task herculean, but it is an imperial obligation, involving the existence of the empire —and it dare not be shunned.

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INDIAN WOMEN: A STUDY.—I.

By Mr. R. C. Bonnerjee.

"LET me sum womanly virtues up in one short admonition. To a woman not to show more weakness than is natural to her sex is a great glory and not to be talked about for good or for evil among men." This is what one of the greatest Athenians had to say to the Athenian women in his famous funeral oration. If there was ever a time when such a dictum was true, mercifully it has passed away. Lately the position of women in the Western world has been causing the gravest controversy. In England the matter has become especially acute, and bitterness and physical force have intruded themselves into the argument. The question has thus thrust itself in a very prominent manner before the public in the West. In the East although there is not so much talk or argument with regard to it, the matter is not less urgent. Changes are imminent. The whole fabric of Indian life has become to a certain extent dissolved, and as a result of the widespread influence of Western idea the position of women in India must inevitably change. In what way—is a question on which any one who hopes for progress must bestow long and anxious thought. In the East as in the West the matter becomes acute with regard to the position of women who are, to use an expressive if invidious phrase, in the middle classes of society. According to the present economic conditions of the world, it does not so much matter to those who come from the pampered classes of the idle rich, what position they occupy with regard to the outside world. They have ample time and money to gratify their whims and to surround themselves with everything calculated to make life more enjoyable. And so questions with regard to their status are apt to be more of theoretical than practical importance. In the lower classes who live as best they may by the sweat of their brow, Labour makes but few distinctions between the sexes, and except for the implied lordship of man over woman—less common indeed amongst these classes than elssewhere—there are not many problems other than moral ones which affect the relation of the sexes to one another. This distinction cannot, however, be pressed to any great length. The position of whmen must be discussed irrespective of class, and though the question becomes more acute amongst a certain section of the people, no satisfactory solution can be reached unless the subject is treated as an indivisible whole.

A discussion on such a matter resolves itself into three main aspects, the moral, the economical, and the political—that is, what are the principles that should govern the relations between the man and woman as human beings; what part should be apportioned to each in the work necessary for the industries of the world and what should be the respective share taken by the two sexes in their control of their national affairs. It is a vast subject and this paper makes no pretence to deal at all fully with it. The last of course needs no discussion here. Only lately amidst much opposition and many ominous warnings has the principle been conceded that Indian men are to take any share in the control of their national affairs, and so it would be premature to discuss what position is to be assigned to women therein. The first question also with regard to the moral aspect of the problems is one that offers a wide field for investigation. It may be stated at the outset that there will be no attempt made to deal at all closely with the general relations of man to woman. The value of marriage and family instructions is not herein to be questioned or examined. It is taken for granted that for some years they will retain their hold on society and suggestions as to how Indian life may be improved in the light of these institutions are all that is hoped to be given herein. Indian writers on public subjects, with some glorious exceptions, through fear of the wrath of Government on the one hand and of their own people on the other, suffer from one of two diseases, that of having no opinions, which is called "the balanced mind," or that of not expressing them, which is described as "moderation." On political subjects the former fear is strong, on subjects such as this, except in the case of men such as Ram Mohun Roy or Vidyasagar, the latter fear is predominant, and it is partly for this reason that such subjects are not discussed frequently in Indian journals and newspapers. In India, women have lived so long behind the *purdah* that the consideration of their rights or duties is apt also to be left behind the *purdah* of oblivion, while men rage and fret about the political position of their country.

Various are the ideals which the different races of the world have set before themselves with regard to women, but they divide themselves into two main aspects. These may roughly be described as the *purdah* ideal or that of the segregation of women, and the ideal which is its direct opposite. For the Hindus and Mahomedans the first is the most attractive—to Western nations the second seems the only sane one It would be interesting to trace how these ideals have developed, and to show how the Athenian seclusion of women resulted in courtesans such as a Phryne or an Aspasia exercising the greatest influence over society orhow the Romans' gradual emancipation of their women produced a Musalina and a Faustina, and even in the later days of the Republic brought about such a state of affairs that, as the historian tells us, the intrigues of the private women spoilt the trade of the licensed prostitute. It might be shown how the West has received its ideas as to the respect due to women—not from its religion of Christianity (St. Paul reckoned women of but little account) but from the Gothic ideal of chivalry. No less interesting would it be to consider how the Hindus, whose women in days of old never lived behind *purdah*, came to adopt so strictly the *zenana* habit, and how, on the other hand, despite the so-called Mahomedan ideal which would seem to make women soulless ministers to the comfort and pleasure of man on earth and to his ecstasy in heaven, it remained for the Mogul conquerors of India to give the world examples, such as Jodha Bai or a Nur Jehan. However tempting these side issues may be, space forbids of their treatment, and the broad question that has first to be discussed is which of the two ideals, the European or the Indian, is productive of the best results.

Indians have no reason to complain that certain sections of English people, as a necessary result of the apathy that Indians display with regard to any improvements in their social life, form themselves into societies for the minding of other peoples' business. Indeed had it not been for the self-sacrificing and whole hearted-devotion of some workers, much progress that has been made would never have been attained. The actions of the just smell sweet and blossom in their dust and their work is not likely to be forgotten. But Indians may justly consider it a breach of the convenances which are expected to regulate the intercourse of one well-bred people with another, when those who have visited India consider it necessary to pour into the ears of English people, whether more or less interested in India, torrents of abuse and ridicule on institutions that are here held most vital and most sacred. Who has not heard or read of certain speeches made to *zenana* missions wherein the cruelties of the *zenana* are dealt with, often with an emphasis that is surprising? Women, we are told, according to this system, are but prisoners on earth. They have no room for their souls to grow or their minds to expand. They are either the pampered playthings of man or the willing slaves to his comfort. Their lives, we are assured, are empty, and their existence soulless. They beat in vain against the bars of a cruel system. Selfish and obtuse are the men who keep them so confined. To those who know the inner life of *zenana* such criticisms seem wild. They realise how great an authority a mother exercises over her sons. They could tell of the great influence a good wife has on a good husband, how well she orders the household, and how her duties to her husband and children do much to fill and enliven her life. Ladies who have come out from the *zenana* to the utmost freedom often declare that the happiest days of their lives were spent in the *zenana*. On the other hand, it is not hard to imagine how a believer in the *zenana* system, did he make but a partial enqiury, would talk after returning from an investigation of the position of women in the most free country of the world. Would he not have tales to tell of the machine-like and soulless existence of the unsecluded factory girls upon whose labours capitalists grow fat, nay might he not speak with horror of the condition of the 'woman clad in unwomanly rags who sings her songs of the shirts,' or the other woman—to quote from an English historian, 'almost literally unsexed in form, function and soul, who in filthy trousers dragged on all fours the coal trucks in the mine'? There is, indeed, something to be said for the *zenana* system—one characteristic of Eastern women observed by all who have been brought into contact with them is that their natures are extremely refined. They in times past have had but little of the worry and buffetings of the outside world to roughen their spirits or coarsen their nature. Their acknowledged inferiority to man saved them in times past from struggles with him in open competition in the world, and if we have pathetic pictures of a faithful wife sitting up all through the hot night to fan her husband during his peaceful slumber, have we not on the other hand visions of rows of front doorsteps of a suburban town being scrubbed by maid servants on a bitterly cold and frosty morning?

Again is there nothing to be said of the lessons which are taught in the *zenana*—nay by the *zenana* itself—that the whole duties of a woman are to be a faithful wife and a good mother? If fault is to be found with the system, let not its virtues be travestied or forgotten. Such was the system which the Hindus developed but the world has changed. Thanks to the preachers of and workers for freedom in the West, ideas have been spread which admit of no arbitrary divisions into slave and free. The whispers and promises of freedom have through Western sources found their way into Eastern life, so that every nook and cranny of India has hearkened to their voice and hoped for their eventual fulfillment. But freedom will not be accepted in part and rejected in part. Those 'greatly loving freedom' as the poet tells us 'love to free.' How can a country hope in any measure for freedom if its own sons determine to prevent freedom from extending to their social life and to both the two sexes. It is gradually being realised that women as Plato pointed out hundreds of years ago, are not so very different from men after all, and closely to differentiate them by a system such as the *zenana* system is not the height of social wisdom. Thanks to the pax Britannica law and order prevail throughout the country. Reasons of necessity which induced men in the old days to keep women like treasures carefully guarded, have lost their cogency. Men and women can go about the streets fearless of molestation (unless indeed the police are on the scent of a political crime). It is easier now-a-days for women to leave the protection of their home. We have countless instances of women in the West who in public perform their duties without losing their rights as women thereby. When it is considered how much a woman such as Florence Nightingale, or the Baroness Burdet Coutts can do for the good of humanity, it seems so great a waste that Indian women should be forced to lavish on the home what might be spent for the good of the world, and that they should be prevented from directly exercising their influence on the affairs of the nation. It is admitted by all except the most virulent opponents of the *zenana* system, that women in the *zenana* exercise great influence in domestic economy, to use the word in its Greek signification. Also it has been demonstrated by countless examples that their influence on their children and the respect they receive is at least as potent as in any other country in the world. Thanks to the writings and efforts of men such as Ram Mohan Roy—thanks also to the vivifying effect of Western ideals, women in India have in a few instances left the shelter of the *zenana* to give their best efforts for the nation at large. To mention names would be invidious, but it may be safely asserted without fear of contradiction that amongst their numbers there are many who have done the greatest service to their country, and in some instances the Imperial Government has not been slow to show its appreciation of them. Parsee women are far more advanced than any other community. The Brahmo Samaj preaches the ideal of women leaving the *purdah* and coming into the world. Certain Mahomedan ladies also, notably the members of the Tyabji family, have cast aside the *purdah*, but apart from a few such instances women seem to be as much behind the *purdah* as ever. For this there are two main reasons. One is that old customs and institutions exercise a charm which long retains its hold on the Indian mind. So much that is beautiful exists in the life of the *zenana* that men are apt to forget that there is a possibility of progress. That point of view can only be met by insistent preaching of the freedom of women, by the effect that Western ideals and Western literature are bound to exercise as the Indian mind becomes more educated, and lastly, by the example of those women who have cast off the old traditions in order to build up new and better ones.

There is another reason and that is in the manners of certain Anglo-Indians, Such Indians as have not had the privilege of seeing Englishmen in England or mixing much with English gentlemen in India have not much regard for the manners of the ruling race. The always supercilious, often insulting and sometimes even brutal tone adopted by a certain class of Anglo-Indians in their dealings with Indians, in tramcars, railway trains, theatres, and all public places, has left its impression on the Indian people. The despised Babu has experinced such treatment often enough and he remembers it. The struggle for his daily bread forces him to come into contact with people whom he would much rather avoid. But if he cannot keep himself from this contact at least, so he reasons he need not expose his womankind to such insults or such indignities. He may be able to endure this treatment in silence when it affects him alone, but if it touches those whom it is his duty to keep from ill, his task becomes more difficult. Galling though it may be to see himself treated, thus it is doubly galling to have his womankind witness his discomfiture. It may be confidently affirmed that many Indians who have very liberal ideas with regard to the position of women shrink from putting them into execution for fear of exposing their womankind from insult. Unfortunately, the matter does not stop there. Indians themselves are still more to blame. Until quite recently, a certain class used to display towards women who have left the *zenana* the worst possible manners. It was hard some time ago for Indian women to be seen in open carriages without bringing upon themselves insult and abuse from their own ignorant countrymen. Matters have gradually changed in this respect with the spread of education, but they have changed neither quickly nor completely. This is only another instance wherein it has been shown that men who bawl most loudly for freedom have not grasped even the elements by which it is acquired. What nation is fit for freedom which in itself exercises a tyranny of class over class, and would shut out from one-half of its numbers, priviliges which should be the common property of both man and woman? It is but a poor testimony to a nation's adaptability that it can applaud the preaching of new ideals and yet heap with insults those who attempt to put them into practice.

THE PROPOSED MOSLEM UNIVERSITY*.

By Mr. S. M. Rauf Ali, Bar-at-law.

TO put in a nutshell the whole scheme of the so-called "Moslem" University and all the ambitious aims that it sets forth to achieve, one can say that it will be an institution based practically on the same lines as the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, with the distinction that it will be owned and *partly* governed by the Indian Muhammadans; the religious side of the University teaching will be purely Muslim, and those sciences and arts which are peculiarly Muslim, will be cultivated on a longer scale than has hitherto been attempted in India; and perhaps this point will constitute a great feature of scheme. But apart from this purely religious and denominational aspect, the institution will be provided with all the requisites for teaching modern sciences and arts, and as this provision is to be the most essential element of the university, I take it, that the "Moslem" University will command general respect so far as efficiency in teaching modern sciences is attained.

It must be made quite plain that the sole object of this gigantic project is not to turn out good Muhammadans. If it were so, we would have never felt the necessity of founding such an university at all. For there are already existing in the country self-governing bodies for the dissemination of religious knowledge and theological culture among the Muhammadans, which are universities in the true sense of the word. By them I mean the 'Mudrassah' of Deobund and Fatehpuri (Delhi), etc. They have residential system of their own, and confer certificates and diplomas on their qualified students which are recognised by the good Muhammadans all over the country and even beyond limits of India. For instance a 'sanad' holder 'Maulvi' of Deobund or Fatehpuri is as much respected among the North-West Frontier tribes and in Afganistan as in any part of our country. Moreover, no university, I believe, can ever surpass these old fashioned seats of Muslim theology in turning out good and true Musalmans, who are so firm in their beliefs and so devoted in the observance of religious rituals that they not infrequently are held up by the Christian missionaries to their co-religionists as the very ideal followers of a religion.

Surely then, when such purely religious schools abound in the country, our main purpose in launching this scheme of the "Moslem" university is *not* religious. Perhaps it will be advanced as an argument in favour of emphasising the religious significance of the university that it will provide a necessary means to equip the Muhammadan youth with the modern weapons to fight against the all-conquering materialism of the recent age, to which the arguments of the old-styled scholar stand in the same relation as the earliest-known contrivance for throwing stones to the up-to-date maxim-gun. And as they are unable to satisfy the young Muslim on such a vital problem as his religion, there is, it will be argued, an imperative need of a 'Muslim' university which will take this difficult task in hand, and through whose instrumentality the foundation of his belief will be cemented and the result will be a heresy-proof modern Muslim. Now, without entering into a controversy that even if such a result were desirable from the Muslim point of view, how far it would enhance the material progress of our community, and whether it would benefit the country at large, I submit that Maulana Shibli has sagely put his finger on the right spot, and his life-long endeavours have at last culminated in the establishment of the 'nudwah' which is in reality a successful attempt to remedy all those defects that discredit the old institution of theology, the task of modernising the frame of Muslim mind in matters of religion can therefore be left in the hands of those who are capable and who are already engaged in it. But the crying need of the time and of the country—need which can no longer be ignored, is of an university which should turn out neither good Muhammadans, nor good Hindus, nor good Christians, but good citizens and loyal subjects. India does not want religion, she has had enough of it, she wants men of sound character who will apply themselves to develop her resources and will bring the blessings of science within her reach. I am sure I am not far from truth when I say that the proposed Moslem university is a response to this crying need, and stripped of the religious garb that so unnecessarily hides its real form, the project stands revealed in all its glory of an all-Indian movement.

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* This article was sent from England before the Delhi Darbar was held.

It is evident that notwithstadding the sectarian designation, the door of this temple of knowledge will be wide open to the members of all classes of the Indian population—a point that has not been emphasised too much by the organisers of the movement—just as the Aligarh College to-day can boast of a good number of non-Muslim students, although it has a reputation of an exclusively Muhammadan seat of learning ; in the same way the "Moslem" university will be open to the Hindus, Christians and Sikhs alike, and there shall not be placed any barrier in the way of those Indians who desire to be educated there. It follows, therefore, that in so far as this open door principle is observed, the 'Moslem' university will be a national institution, not in the narrow sense of the Muhammadan community, but in the broader and truer sense of the whole Indian nation ; for in the pursuit of scientific and technical knowledge (which is the real aim), it will benefit the Muhammadans just as much as the Hindus or Christians. The fact that it will have been endowed with funds contributed largely by Muhammadans and will be under their control does not and cannot deprive it of its all-Indian character; for the very evident reasons which I repeat to emphasise their importance, that, as a seat of learning for the modern sciences and art specially, it will be open to all and shall materially benefit the children of the soil irrespective of religion. Keeping this significant point in view I think it is most eminently undesirable to designate an institution, which in its essence is all-Indian and national, with the sectarian adjective, *i. e.*, Muhammadan. I object to this appellation for more reasons than one. In the first place the word Muhammadan is so unnecessarily obtrusive, I shall not say offensive, that it drowns the real import of the institution and gives it an appearance of an extremely sectarian affair, whereas the feeling that lies at the root is comprehensive enough to include all the various religions of India. In the second place it appears to be an innovation and unfortunate digression from the time-honoured tradition of naming universities after the places where they happen to exist. Not to speak of the modern European universities, our own ancient universities are known to us by the names of Cordova, Grenada and Bagdad, etc.

Even at the present day if any institution can truly be called the Muhammadan university, it is the university at Azhar, and yet we know it by the title of Al-Azhar. Similarly we hear of London, Berlin, Tokyo universities, but it is very seldom, if at all, that we hear of a Christian, Zoroastrian, or Agnostic university. In times gone by we had the good fortune of founding more than one university and under decidedly better circumstances when we ourselves were the source of charters, but we never gave them sectarian names. Now it seems very incongruous, to me at least, that while we are governed by a liberal-minded nation, we should be so keen to show our narrow-mindedness that even the seats of learning which have always been characterized in the Muhammadan history with a spirit of liberality and good-will to mankind, should be denominationalised and designated with sectarian names.

The only strong and tenable argument that can be urged in support of this name is that the whole financial success of the project and the keen interest that has been aroused among the Muslims, are due to the fact that the appeal was made in the name of the Muhammadan cause. And it is to the word Muhammadan that we owe the circumstance of it being brought within the limits of practical realization. It will be futile on one's part to deny this fact, but now that it has served its purpose and the masses have been roused to their sense of responsibility, it rests with our leaders to consider the advisability of substituting another name which should be more in keeping with the present day surroundings. Perhaps it will be said that name is immaterial. 'Rose by any other name would smell as sweet.' But those who are aware of the actual conditions prevailing in India will probably recognise that name, may be immaterial in any other part of the globe, but it is not so in that country. What is language? but a particular way of calling certain things by certain names, and yet we know what important position the language question holds in India and what bitter feelings have been aroused between a neighbour and neighbour over the trifles of language. In fact, in a country where people fight over phantoms and leave the realities out of question, the whole struggle is over names. The masses know very little what particular religious beliefs an individual has, but they know that his name is Ahmud Bux or Rama Murti, and their sympathies go with the names. In the present temper of our country we must, therefore, be very careful in choosing names.

Apart from the determination of name, in order to realize the sublime dream of Sir Sayed and give his central idea its true form, not only is it necessary that the university should be widely proclaimed as a non-religious body, but the entire scheme should undergo a careful revision, and those sectarian elements that have, in the heat of controversy, crept in, should be completely cast out; bringing up the scheme to a standard of perfection which should commend itself to all the well-wishers of education in India. When Sir Sayed demanded that the means and management of education should be in the hands of the nation, he did not mean that only the Muslims should possess the control of their education, but he meant *the nation* should have it, and what he meant by the word "nation" is patent to all. It would indeed be doing an injustice to his high-mindedness to put a limited interpretation upon his utterances and construe them as applying to Muhammadans only. If we are going to materialize his dreams, we cannot be overcautious in presenting them to the world in their true colours. He has left us intellectual assets of the highest value in the form of his educational schemes, and we must administer them according to the spirit of his will, which we have for our guidance in the volume of his many speeches. The principles he has laid down are of unquestionable merit and to narrow them by adaptation to the present but transitory state would be to distort their truth. Besides, they are expressed in such clear language and direct and lucid style that there is hardly any room for doubt, ambiguity or misinterpretation. To give an illustration I take the following quotation from Sir Sayed's words: "Hindus and Muhammadans should try to become one heart and soul and act in unison, for, if united, they can support each other. If not, the effect of one against the other would tend to the destruction and downfall of both. Hindu and Muhammadan brethren? Do you people any country other than India? Do you not inhabit the same land? Are you not born and buried on, or buried under the same soil! Do you not tread the same ground and receive nourishment from the same mother—earth. Remember that the words "Hindu" and "Mussalman" are only meant for religious distinction, otherwise all persons who reside in India belong to one and the same nation. In the word 'nation' I therefore include both Hindus and Muhammadans and all other Indians, because that is the only meaning I can attach to it. With me it is not worth considering what is our religious faith, but that we inhabit the same land, that we are subject to the same Government, that the fountains of benefit for all are the same, and that the pangs of famine also we all suffer equally. It is therefore that each and all of us must unite for the good of the country which is common to all. These are the different grounds upon which I call all the communities which inhabit India by one word "Hindu" meaning to say that we are all natives of "Hindustan."

I doubt if more explicit a version can be given of his views than he has himself given in this short oration, and yet we seem oblivious of the real and practical worth of these pregnant observations.

It cannot be too closely pressed upon the attention of the Indian Mussalmans that it is high time they should realize their position in relation to other communities. I am afraid that their political instincts are guiding their educational policy which is extremely mischievous. The separatist position that they have taken up in the field of Politics has exercised a not inconsiderable influence upon the course of events in connection with the 'Moslem' university. But Education is not Politics. And Sir Sayed was the first man to recognise the vast difference between these two spheres It is in applying our political programme to our educational policy that we are substantially diverging from the right path so clearly defined by Sir Sayed. Fortunately, it is not yet too late to correct our bearings. On the contrary we have a special opportunity now to show by practical example that we are animated by that sincerest motives towards our fellow-countrymen.

It was quite natural that after the "Moslem university" hubbub, we should hear of the Hindu university, and we cannot be surprised at the energetic action of some Hindu leaders in this direction; for on their part it is perfectly legitimate to do for their community what the Muslim leaders think of doing for their co-religionists. But as regards their attitude towards the Moslem scheme, it has been either neutral or antagonistic in a mild and neighbourly spirit. On the whole, their criticism has taken the shape of friendly advice pointing out the dangers of denominationalizing a project of educational nature, and detailing the bad consequences which are bound to follow in the long run. At the same time it cannot be denied that the more zealous of them have assumed a position which is scarcely compatible with their attitude towards the Moslem university. They are endeavouring to show that this scheme of the Muhammadans is prejudicial to the national unity of India ; as no such sectarian institution can ever hope to promote feelings of amity and comradeship between different religious communities, and in the same breath they are urging the Hindu masses to set up a Hindu university after the Muslim style. This is clearly unreasonable. If one party is doing what they hold as an erroneous act, why should they encourage the other to commit a similar mistake? However, those eminent Hindu leaders, who are noted for their sound judgment, have kept themselves scrupulously aloof from passing any premature remarks and are acting upon the 'wait and see' motto. The Muhammadans on their part cannot but welcome the advent of the Hindu university, if they sincerely believe in the efficacy of the denominational principle and want to play their role nobly and reasonably in this educational drama.

But to an Indian, who has his country's good at heart and does not let religious prejudices cloud his reason, the vital question is whether a way can be found out to reconcile the apparently conflicting but essentially identical interests of the two communities. The answer to this can be given in the affirmative only when earnestness and sincerity on either side are assured. And it is an attempt to answer this question affirmatively that I venture to make a positive suggestion : H. H. the Agha Khan has been promised a substantial sum of 30 lakhs of Rs., on the strength of which he can hope to obtain the Royal Charter. In the capacity of the Muslim leader, he should ask the Hon. Mr. Gokhale to collect as much money from among his co-religionsts and then frankly say to him "Now that we have 60 lakhs of Rs. between us, let us go together to our sovereign and pray for a charter, which, we feel sure, he will not deny us."

The charter should be prayed for in the name of " King George's university of Aligarh," thus making it a truly all Indian institution. For the sovereign stands to us both, the Hindus and Muhammadans, in the relationship of a neutral power protecting and guiding the destinies of all his multifarious subjects, placed far above the sphere of local, racial or religious prejudices and animated with an earnest desire for the betterment of all communities of India. I do not think there can be a better and more fitting tribute paid to his high position than that he should be prayed to lay the foundation of a seat of learning, which will be named after his name, and which will embody in its constitution all such attributes of His Majesty as distinguish him from the other rulers of the world in virtue of his sovereignty over India : impartiality, freedom from religious bias and unity of the imperial purpose. Such an institution will mark a new era not only in the educational history of India but in the relations between Hindus and Muhammadans and all other classes ; for under the direct patronage of their Emperor they will find themselves working side by side for a common cause—Education. The granting of the charter will, no doubt, be a gracious act of Royal goodwill but still more will it be the educational magna charta for the Indian people, in virtue of which we will enjoy the recognised right of self-Government in matters of education. No sensible man can dispute the advisability of such an university unless, of course, his judgment is warped by religious prejudices or petty considerations ; for besides being practicable and conducive to national unification, it will afford the Government of India an easy way to get out of the rather embarrassing situation which has been created by the Muhammadans demanding the recognition of scheme that is sectarian to all outward appearance. The working of the university should not offer any great or insurmountable obstacle. For, as it has been pointed out above, the main object of the university will be the formation of character and efficient scientific and technical education which does not interfere with any body's religion. The Hindu, Muslim and Christian students can be taught non-religious subjects in the same classes where they will naturally acquire the feeling of fellowship, and the consciousness that they are the alumni of one and the same national university will go a long way to eradicate the deeply-rooted prejudices of caste and creed. The work of religious instruction should be assigned to three or four, as the case may be, committees of the senate. Each committee will be composed entirely of the followers of a particular creed and invested with powers of independent initiative and execution within its limited sphere. For instance, the Muslim committee of the senate will be fully representative, in its constitution, of the Islamic elements of the country, and the scope of its authority will be extensive enough to bring within its cognisance all the various items connected with the religious side of the Aligarh University's Muhammadan students. It will have the power of appropriating funds necessary for the provision of sound education in Islamic subjects, it will have perfect liberty in taking such measures for altering, adopting or modifying the system of training as it deems advisable, it will prescribe religious text books, and in a word it will supervise the general course of religious teaching and be an independent body in its particular department. The same privileges will attach to the Hindu, Christian and Sikh committees. But in the direction and management of scientific, technical, and non-religious education the senate—the representative of all the constituent factors of the Indian nation will have the supreme voice.

This is, however, a very rough outline which can be elaborated in due course. When memorial hospitals and nursing homes have been founded by the combined financial help of the Hindus and Musalmans and are run to-day on co-operative lines, I see no reason why a national university, which will be a kind of a great nursery for the intellectual growth of the young generation, cannot be run on principles of co-operation and mutual trust. The soul underlying this suggestion is that if we, the Hindus and Muhammadans, are in earnest about our profession of good will to each other, why can we not give it a practical shape in co-operating and combining our energies in a field where we can stand upon common ground and prepare the nucleus of nationhood which will develop itself in the fullnes of time. Surely there can be no better province for our combined activity than education, and the Durbar will be a specially auspicious occasion to start the work ; for the Sovereign will be present in the country, and his presence is bound to act upon the many classes of his subjects like a unifying charm.

OUR DEPRESSED CLASSES.

By Mr. J. L. Chatterjee.

THE question of raising the depressed classes has been taken up all over India, and it is satisfactory to note the feeling with which it is generally discussed. The importance of bettering the social and moral condition of practically the bulk of the Indian people is indeed being recognised more and more widely, and while this is a welcome indication of the good effects of liberal education and culture, it is also a sign of the political awakening of the upper middle classes. So much depends on the people who are now looked down upon as "untouchables," and so imperative has it become to reform and elevate them that the movement in their favour has not started a day too soon. The number of Hindus is steadily falling off, while Mahomedans and Christians are increasing. To a large extent this is due, no doubt, to a hope for improved worldly prospects, but the number of low-class Hindus who forsake their religion and become apostates to escape from the insults to which they are subjected by the higher castes is by no means small. The treatment meted out to them is well calculated to make them rebel against it and seek the shelter of other faiths. Their trials and sufferings for ages form a record of patient submission to an arbitrary social code, as well as of self-effacement unexampled in the history of mankind, Hated, but not hating, the lower castes, untouchable but indispensable, have borne their lot without murmuring long enough. But what was easy once is so no more. So long as darkness settled all over the land, and anarchy and unrest were triumphant, when there was no time to enquire or to ponder, no occasion to grumble, no opportunity or inducement to look ahead, the lower classes remained quiet, dumb, uncomplaining. Everything about them seemed a profound mystery, an enigma as impenetrable as the Brahman, and in their ignorance they could only marvel at the superiority of the higher castes and be conscious of their own insignificance. To revere the Brahmin—even though he might be a 'two-legged creature a man without it,' more debased and more ignorant than himself—to render service to him all his life, was then an instinct with all the lower castes; they learnt this as a child, and were taught it ever afterwards. Things are changed since and are continually changing. The light of education and liberal thoughts is dispelling the gloom of centuries;

new hopes, new aspirations are abroad, a period of self-examination has arrived, ideas of self-respect, self-help, individual rights and privileges, are filling the atmosphere, and the inevitable result is that the lower classes are slowly looking into themselves and perceiving that they too are equally placed in the comity of races with the higher castes, that material or spiritual greatness is nobody's brithright, but equally attainable by all, and that they have only to exert themselves to rise from the position in which they have been held fast by selfish, tyrannous rules devised by a selfish, shortsighted people. In fact, it is not improbable that the commotion visible among the lower classes is owing to the sympathy they are by degrees obtaining from the higher castes who, bowing to the law of necessity, are beginning to realise the futility of seeking to stem the tide and perpetuate the old order of things. That there is much that is wanting in spontaneity and sincerity in the cry of some of the higher classes for the elevation of the depressed castes is apparent from their opposition to the compulsory education scheme of Mr. Gokhale, and the grounds on which they have based their opposition.

Still, taking all things together, the situation is hopeful. But it would be idle to deny that there are certain aspects of the question which are not quite cheering, The complexity of the problem is aggravated by the complexity of the Hindu social system. The reformer's task is never easy, but in this connection it is difficult and delicate in a peculiar sense. In the first place, it has to be remembered that the elevation of the lower castes cannot be brought about without disturbing the entire social organisation and the principles on which it has rested for a considerable time. Secondly, the controlling agency necessary to introduce and establish a new order of things without raising disquiet and controversy is absent. Until these two great drawbacks can be removed, it would be a task of no mean difficulty and delicacy to so re-shape the Hindu social conditions as to give the lower classes a better status according to their claims.

In considering the above points, the first question that strikes us is, how the depressed classes can be placed on a higher level. In the absence of the caste system and the numerous rules and sub-rules governing the society, the matter would have been simple enough, and in fact the problem would not have arisen at all. But as things stand, by what means can a Chandal, for instance, be raised? What will be his caste after his elevation, and what the title of his new social standing? To what caste will he belong? —for there is no escaping the caste system. Will a casteman higher than himself touch him, eat with him and consider him as his equal? What practical good will the elevation otherwise be to him? Will not he remain a Chandal for ever, even if called by another name? Are the Kayasthas of Bengal, who are now-a-days putting on the sacred thread after the manner of Kshatriyas any better than those of their castemen who do not follow them, and has the status of the former improved in consequence? Low caste men who are smuggled into a higher caste or who, in a place where they are not known, describe themselves as belonging to a higher caste, may in time come to be recognised as such, but otherwise it is not obvious, social position of Hindus being entirely dependant on caste, how they can be admitted into a higher caste. The next point is, who will admit a Chandal or a pariah into a higher caste? Will the public recognise or bow to the decree of the person or association uplifting low caste men, no matter for what reasons? On whose authority and with whose sanction will the reformer act? How will he depart from a custom that has assumed a semi-religious aspect? Will Hindus permit the disruption which must follow the remodelling of the caste system—creation of new castes and elevating lower castes to higher ones? Will not the caste system itself have to be done away with in a large measure? These are practical questions of immense importance, and await settlement before a step forward in the desired direction can be properly taken. What is possible in the Brahmo or Arya Samaj is not possible in the caste-bound Hindu Samaj, and caste cannot be ignored and will not be suffered for some time yet to be ignored.

The foregoing reflection may well make one sigh for a Manu or even a Ballab Sen or Raghunandan, to reframe the society according to the present needs of the country. The fact is that such thorough reforms cannot be effected without *Rajsakti* or royal intervention and assistance. In former days, when changes were periodically introduced into the Hindu society, the prerogation of the king and his Brahmin councillors prevailed, and the people had to submit to it. Valmiki, Vyas, Viswamitra, and a host of others, who once belonged to low castes, thus rose to the highest social ranks and are to this day venerated by all Hindus. So, low caste men were raised to a higher caste for their particular merits, and high caste men degraded for misbehaving themselves or contravening the rules of conduct by which they had to abide. The balance was so maintained, and the caste system did not press heavily upon the people. It had a corrective and restraining influence, and a significance which it has now completely lost, owing to the absence of *Rajsakti* and the pressure of strange, unpropitious circumstances. The Brahmin, howsoever unfit he may be to enjoy the high privileges and position appertaining to his caste, remains so without fear of degradation, and he does not try to correct himself because he is under no obligation to do so. The Sudra, similarly, however good and noble, continues untouchable. Nobody thinks of what poet has so well sung :—

> "Here and there a cotter's babe is royal born by right divine,
> "Here and there my lord is lower than his oxen or his swine."

That there is no means to remove the above anomaly is, however, a big assertion. The remedy is in the hands of the Brahmins themselves as being the recognised and undisputed head of the society and interpreters of the *Sastras*. The public cannot act or even form definite opinions unless their leaders, the Pandits, seriously take up the question at issue and explain it in the light of the *Sastras*. Nor is it true that the *Sastras* do not sanction any interference with the prevailing practices or with matters relating to the society. The *Sastras*, fortunately, are not as rigid and lifeless as the society which is supposed to be built thereon. On the contrary, the *Sastras* give plenty of latitude necessary to adapt the society to changed circumstances and surroundings, to enable it to progress with the advancing times, infuse fresh vigour into it, maintain its balance and make it serve a definite and beneficent object. Even now-a-days, despite the inflexibility of our modern social conditions, the Pandits give *bidhans* or *Sastraic* permission to enable departures being made from the current practices on particular occasions or for special purposes. Such *bidhans* are accepted without hesitation, and although they are a poor substitute for *Rajsakti*, still they do the society a lot of good. What, in fact, the country wants is that the Pandits should combine and attempt to reorganise the society by sanctioning, encouraging and countenancing more liberal ideas than they have hitherto been familiar with. The Sastras are all right, only they have got to be rightly interpreted in the light of reason and commonsense in order that the society may emerge from its present state of chaos and inertness.

THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES BILL.

By A Co-operator.

THAT the chief problems in India now are mainly economic is evident from the fact that three of the principal measures at present before the Imperial Legislative Council relate respectively to Life Insurance Companies, Provident Funds and Co-operative Societies. The two first mentioned bills have attracted a certain amount of public attention because they mainly affect the middle classes in the towns and larger villages, in other words, the bulk of the readers of the Indian press, whether English or Vernacular. These can be no doubt, however, that the Co-operative Societies Bill concerns much larger and more important interests. Even now the total number of members of co-operative societies in different parts of India are to be counted in hundreds of thousands. It is admitted that the movement, although it has made wonderful progress during the last few years, is likely to advance much faster in the future, and in another decade probably a very considerable proportion of the cultivators as well as artisans of India, will be directly interested in the fortunes of co-operative societies. It is desirable, therefore, that the aims and objects of the new legislation should be thoroughly ventilated and properly understood.

The principle of co-operation is not new in India. The ancient village community where it existed was a typical illustration, and survivals of it are still to be found in more or less crude or debased forms among the archaic parts of the Indian States. In British India, however, generations of law and order have strongly developed the individualistic tendency. The joint family system is nothing but a type of compulsory co-operation. The various forces of the present day are acting as a powerful solvent of the joint family system also, and for many reasons the result is not to be regretted. The new methods of co-operation are an attempt to reconcile individualism with communal interests. The history of the movement in Europe does not require recapitulation here. In India, the first serious attempt to study co-operative methods and their adaptation to this country was made by Sir Frederick Nicholson, a Madras Civilian, whose masterly and exhaustive report published in 1894, is still the basis of the work of the Indian co-operator. This was followed by some small books published by Mr. Dupernex, a U. P. Civilian, suggesting modifications of European systems for adoption in Northern India. Lord Macdonnell than whom the Northern India peasant had not had a stouter champion in recent decades was at the time Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces. He originated experiments in this direction in various centres in the United Provinces. Public interest in the movement was awakened, and subsequently Lord Curzon's government assembled a small committee of experts who recommended legislation and systematic propaganda. The result was Act X of 1904 (the Co-operative Credit Societies Act), and the appointment in all the larger provinces of Registrars controlling a very small staff of Inspectors and auditors.

Much experience has been gained in the last seven years of active work regarding the proper methods of organising, supervising and developing such societies. Conditions are, of course, different in every province, and a system that is suitable for the wealthy agriculturists of the canal colonies in the Punjab may not be appropriate for the needy cultivators of the backwoods of the Central Provinces. Provincial conferences have met in various parts of India and discussed the needs and problems peculiar to each province. Similarly, the Registrars of the different provinces have, from year to year, met in conference, compared notes and suggested improvements for the benefit of one another. It was very soon discovered that the law embodied in the Act of 1904 was defective and embarrasing in several important respects. Recommendations for amendment have been made both by the provincial conferences and by the conference of Registrars. The Government of India have taken advantage of the occasion to recast the whole Act and to introduce several alterations of detail as well as of principle.

One of the principal changes is indicated by the omission of the word credit from the title of the bill. The original aim, of course, was to encourage societies formed to secure improved credit for the members. It was soon found that in certain communities, *e. g.*, among weavers, and even among particular classes of agriculturists improved credit could not be secured without co-operative production or distribution. Indeed, industrial co-operation has been signally successful in several towns in India amongst the artisan classes. The industrial survey of the different provinces conducted under State auspices has also disclosed the fact that amongst the methods for the revival of the hand industries co-operation holds a prominent place. As a matter of fact, in nearly every province such societies have already been formed and are working well, although their legal status is not quite satisfactory under the present Act. The Government have rightly decided to extend all the privileges of the Co-operative Act to such societies.

The Act of 1904 divided all societies into two classes, rural and urban, and enjoined that, except in special cases, all rural societies must be formed with the unlimited liability of members. The distinction between rural and urban was purely artificial, and the attempt to force unlimited liability on all types of rural societies has retarded the growth of the movement. The Government have now recognised that societies themselves should determine what form of liability they wish to adopt. Of course, the other bye-laws of the society will depend entirely on this point. It will be for the society to decide, with the aid of the Registrar, the constitution which will conduce to the safety of the members, and at the same time secure credit from outside.

Another alteration is that the new Bill will legalise the distribution of profits amongst the members of societies with unlimited liability. There can be no doubt that the highest type of co-operation is where the individual members forego any right to divide profits amongst themselves. Such an ideal is, however, exceedingly difficult to work up to, specially at the very beginning. Where members have no ultimate hope of securing any profits, it is hard to inculcate habits of thrift. The Bill, therefore, proposes that in the case of an unlimited liability society, distribution of profits will be allowed under the general or special orders of the local Government. It is, however, equally important that co-operative societies should not be exploited by the dividend hunter. Joint stock banks should not masquerade under the cloak of co-operation and obtain the various advantages that are offered by registration under the Act. The tendency towards seeking high dividends to the detriment of the co-operative features of the organisation has already been displayed in many quarters in this country. It is, therefore, eminently desirable that the dividends should be for all classes of societies restricted by law to a normal figure, say, ten per cent. per year. All profits above this should go either towards strengthening the reserve of the bank, or reducing the rate of interest for constituents or towards some public object like education, sanitation, etc. Of course, it may be argued that if in a bad year the dividend goes down to a low figure, it would be wrong to limit it in a good year. This difficulty can be easily overcome by a Dividend Equalisation Fund.

The existing Act also does not recognise under the special sanction of the local Government, the types of co-operative societies known as District or Central Banks and Unions of Banks.

This is a very serious defect, for the organisation of such societies has in all provinces been found essentially necessary not only to finance the small societies but for audit, inspection and supervision. It is much better from all points of view that the societies should help each other in these latter respects than be for ever dependent on State help and support. For financing purposes also district or central banks (which act not only as the savings banks of the societies but as the intermediary between the rural societies and the outside money market) are an absolute necessity. In the new bill provision has been made for the formation of societies of which the members of one will be members of other societies. This alteration, however, meets only half way the actual requiements. In these central organisations it is at least in the present stage necessary to enlist the co-operation of individuals of light and leading, as well as of substance, who may not be members of small societies. Most existing district banks already have such members, and their continuance is essential for the safety and success of the banks. It is a sound principle that such banks *should not lend money to* *individual members*, but the exclusion of individuals from membership is likely to lead to disaster. We hope the provision will be amended.

Besides these principal matters the Bill seeks to effect many improvements in detail which need not be discussed here. We would suggest that the use of the word co-operative should be prohibited for banks which are not registered under the Act. Section 31, as at present drafted, gives rather too much power to a creditor to harass the committee and officers of a society. This section requires reconsideration. The Bill has been referred to a strong select committee, at least one member of which is a well-known expert official with broad and sympathetic views. We have no doubt the Bill will emerge from the select committee a sound and workable measure.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN BRITISH INDIA.

I.

By Prof. Jogindranath Samaddar, F.R.E.S., F.R. Hist. S.

THE author of *Seir-ul-Mutaqherin* (History or Review of Modern Times) writing at the time when the British power was just beginning to be consolidated, noted that the Mussalman sovereigns disapproved of public-women and did not encourage intemperance, while the English or better the Anglo-Indians, who ultimately filled the Court of Directors, were eager for license. An English writer writing in *The Calcutta Review* (1844, Vol. I) thus speaks of the original founders of the British Empire:—"Honest minded travellers returned to England, after exploring, then almost a terra-incognita the province of 'East Indies' to narrate how Christian men in a 'heathen land' were put to shame by the benighted Indians; to descant on the gentleness, the fidelity, the temperance of the gentiles and the violence, the rapacity and the licentiousness of the Christians. It is a most sad and horrible thing to consider what scandal there is brought upon the Christian religion by the looseness and remissness, by the exorbitances of many, which come amongst them who profess themselves Christians, of whom I have heard the Indians, who live here near the port where our ships arrive say thus in broken English which they have got 'Christians much drunk.' It is really a sad sight, and there to behold a drunken Christian and a sober Indian, a temperate Indian and a Christian given up to his appetite."

A gentleman who accompanied Sir Thomas Roe early in the 17th century, mentions that the principal obstruction to the growth of Christianity in the East was the most debauched lives of many, coming thither or living amongst them, who professed themselves Christians but by whom the Gospel of Jesus Christ was scandalised and exceedingly suffered.

During the administration of Warren Hastings, society was also characterised in a similar manner as described before. Hastings himself had no title to our admiration as a moral-man. "He was living for years" as a writer observes, "with the wife of another who lacking the spirit of cock-chaper, connived with all imaginable sang-froid at the transfer of his wife's possession to the possession of the Nabob," and when the convenient laws of a foreign land, "deriving no sanction from Christianity," formally severed the bond which had long been practically disregarded, the

Governor-General had the execrably bad-taste to celebrate his marriage with the elegant adultress in a style of the utmost magnificence.

What was to be expected from the society when the head of it was so diseased? The effect was disastrous to all. The contagion spread and drinking was thought a part and parcel of English study. Sir Henry Cotton in a speech said :—"It was true that when education was first extended in India, it was accompanied by an outbreak of excess in regard to intoxicating liquors; it seemed to be thing to imitate European vices, and even when he himself went to India, it was a very common thing to hear of most eminent men indulging secretly or not in drink to excess"*. In fact, at that time many men thought that their English education was not complete till they had acquired the habit of drinking.

A reaction fortunately soon set in. The educated classes throughout the length and breadth of India all strongly condemn drinking. The late lamented Mr. Caine used to speak of the conversion of a gentlemen, Sababatty Mudeliar, a staunch friend of the Congress movement from its birth. This gentleman was a rich one, and to all his other sources of income, he had taken license for three districts. Once he was listening to a speech in the Congress-pandal, condemning the action of the Government with regard to the sale of intoxicants, and he felt that "his connection with this trade was not only discreditable to himself but displeasing to God." On his return home, he gave up the licenses and soon developed into an ardent advocate of Temperance. He himself started "An Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness" and induced his Mahomedan friends to start "The Mussalman Temperance Society." Mr. Caine, in speaking of this worthy gentleman, said :—"If we had fifty such men scattered through our Indian Empire, we could clear out every liquor shop in five years." Really we are in need of such men. Look at the following figures—self-explanatory. They represent alcoholic beverages imported into India.

Year.		Malt-liquors.	Spirits.	Wines.	Totals.
1858-59	...	239,308	166,253	246,485	652,246
1863-64	...	646,782	452,503	339,329	1,338,684
1668-69	...	435,770	455,174	476,406	1,367,350
1873-74	...	363,496	553,884	511,864	1,429,244
1888-89	...	412,852	730,027	342,330	1,484,209

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* The late Mr. Rajnarain Bose in his "Autobiography" has given a graphic description. Mr. R. C. Dutt once said :—"There is less drinking amongst the educated classes in Bengal to-day than there was a generation ago."

The increase has been so much that the revenue derived by the Indian Government from the sale of intoxicants rose from £ 1,561,000 in 1874-75 to £6,281,000 in 1905-6, the annual yield having been more than trebled in 30 years. In 1908-9, it was £ 6,342,000 *i, e.*, it had quadrupled in 35 years.

The annual Excise Reports reveal some facts regarding the various Provincial Governments of India. Almost without exception, these documents report a continuous rise in liquor revenue and consumption. In Bengal, in 1894-95, 455,595 gallons were consumed, but in 1904-5, 700,000 gallons were devoured. The excise revenue in 1902 was Rs. 1,25,82,808 ; 1903—Rs. 1,30,11,358 ; 1904—Rs. 1,35,18,313 ; 1905 was Rs. 1,46,24,956 ; 1906—Rs. 1,53,44,423. In the Punjab, there has been a continued growth in the revenue, amounting in three years to arise of 8½ lakhs of rupees. In the Central Provinces, there has been an increase of 20¾ lakhs in revenue.

II.

It is interesting to note, that in some of the Indian States, steps are being taken to check this cursed habit. In Hyderabad, H. H. the Nizam takes an active interest in the "Temperance Association," started by Colonel Nawab Afsul-ul-Mulk Bahadur and of which he is the patron. The present Nizam's father was its first patron, and his son is faithfully following in the footsteps of his august sire. When His Highness orders a camp for shooting or other purposes, he emphatically enjoins that no shops for the sale of intoxicating liquors should be permitted to remain within reasonable distance.

At the time of the wedding of H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala the Council of Regency decided that no liquor should be provided or sold in the camps or at the residence of the guests, and it was gratifying to note that the Maharaja concurred with the opinion of his Council. Maharaja Sir Major Singh Sahib Bahadur, G. C. S. I., of Bundelkhand, promulgated the following ruling in his State :—"As it has been brought to the notice of the undersigned that many of the State servants, through intemperate habits, have either incapacitated themselves for the services of the Durbar, or have ruined their health for good, the Durbar therefore requires each and all of its servants who use and drink any intoxicating things, that they should correct their habits within three months' time, failing which such orders as the Durbar might deem fit will be noted down in the service books.

To strike at the root of the evil, in future such persons will be taken in the State-service as are free from the above-mentioned habits." In Kashmir also it, has been interdicted either to sell or to buy or to drink wine, and a like regulation has been issued out by H. H. the late Sir Surendra Bikram Singh, K. C. S. I., of Sirmoor.

III.

Social, religious and economic sides of this great question prohibit us from drinking. Passing over the social side, which requires no amplification, we pass to the religious side and say that intemperance has been condemned by all the religions of the world. "Madyam, adeyam, apeyam, agraghyam" (wine should neither be offered, nor drunk, nor accepted) is the injunction of the Hindu Shastras "At the last, it biteth like a serpent and stringeth like an adder," said Solomon. Muhammad compared wine-drinking and taking pork as equal. The Christian religion also forbids intemperance.

Judging from the economic standpoint, we cannot justify drinking. Not only does drinking cause an economic loss because drinkers are less incapable members of the community than they would be otherwise, but the very preparation of a strong drink, involves a great waste of the resources of the country. The materials from which alcoholic drinks are made are all or nearly all excellent foods; but when they have been converted into strong drinks, they are of very much reduced food value. Thus when barley is converted into beer, 70 p. c. of its value as a food is lost, and an increase in drinking thus means an increased waste of national resources, a matter which cannot be considered as of no importance. The manufacture of drink has another economic disadvantage, *viz.*, that less employment is given in proportion to the value of the product in the manufacture of liquor than in any other kind of industry carried on in the civilised world.

The Rt. Honourable Mr. Joseph Chamberlain certainly has these things in view, when in 1874 he said :—"If I had an enchanter's wand, if I could destroy to-morrow the desire for strong drink in the people of England—what changes should we see? We should see our taxes reduced by millions sterling a year. We should see more lives saved in twelve months than we consumed in a century of bitter and savage war. We should transfigure and transform the face of the whole country."

Mr. Asther Hadley, President of the Yule University, said, that the waste of productive power due to indulgence in drink is only a part and perhaps not the largest part, of the evils changeable to drunkenness. "Where the passion for drink stands in the way of intelligent enjoyment, it promotes proverty, not only by making the drinking men poor producers but by making the public a poor consumer." If these words are applicable to England and the United States, two of the most advanced States of the world, how much more are they applicable to India!

THE CAUSES OF THE CHINESE REVOLT.

By Prof. Edward Alsworth Ross.

IN a gorgeous Chinese restaurant in Peking I sat at meat with five men, and four languages were needed for communication. The one white man was born in China, the son of a missionary. The rest were foreign-educated Chinese retained in Government service as experts. One was a Berlin Ph. D., another a Cornell doctor of philosophy, a third came from the University of London and had spent two years in the British Post Office. The fourth was an A. M. of the Antwerp School of Commerce, licentiate of the University of Paris, and had served two years in the Banque de-France. They had been in Government service for from two to six months.

" How do you like it ?" I asked.

They threw up their hands in despair. They were patriotic, eager to apply their hard-won knowledge to their country's need, but all had found that the Manchu blocks the way. " What is the use," said one, " of my studying the gathering of statistics in the various countries and reporting a plan for the coming Imperial census, when my chief is an ignorant Manchu who will light his fire with it ?" " How can I put any heart into working out a reform for the Post Office," said the London man, " after I realize that my recommendations are not even read ?" " We now see," said another disgustedly, " that the Government gives us posts and salaries in order to keep us educated men under surveillance here at Peking, where we can't reach or influence the people. ' Reform ' is all for show and the one absorbing thought of our rulers is to keep their graft."

The head of a provincial college, a ripe scholar, a Han-lin man, in fact, told me he could hardly endure his position. " How can I keep my self-respect." he broke out, " when constantly the Board of Education at Peking forces me to do foolish things ? Here is an applicant thirty years old, who passes a brilliant entrance examination ; but Peking won't let me admit him to my college because, forsooth, he is not ' a graduate of a middle school.' "

The Manchus are not a cultured people, mark you, and when they climbed into the saddle of empire about the time of Cromwell, they were on a level with the Afghans of to-day. They are to the

Chinese what the Goths were to the Romans; and a Manchu directing the new education of China is as out of place as a Goth presiding over the schools of Athens in the fourth century. It is the brilliant Chinese, not the Manchus, who travel and study abroad. Yet when they return they are balked by the huge pervasive Manchu machine.

Sometimes high Manchu officials are totally illiterate, and I heard of one Manchu "literary chancellor" who could not even read the examination essays submitted for provincial honors. So he poked them with his cane as he lay smoking, and the thirteen that slid off first were declared winners!

In the Board of War at Peking are six hundred employees; but fifty do all the work. The rest are Manchus who sit in a chair, suck the pipe and watch the clock.

One of the directors of the Shanghai-Hangchow Railway—a purely Chinese line—told me their chief trouble in building the road was the harassing "inspections" which obliged them to bribe the officials in order to go on with the work. Moreover, Peking forced upon the company a large, unneeded, foreign loan which would have been expended by Government men without the stockholders knowing how much stuck to the fingers of the officials. So, instead of using the money for building the road, the company loaned it out in small amounts at a high interest and will repay it as soon as the terms of the loan permit.

When the Mauchu Tartars overpowered China, they placed Tartar garrisons in the chief cities. These "bannermen," living, a privileged caste, in their own walled quarter and fed by Government rice, have vegetated and multiplied for generations. Usually the Tartar quarter is a dismal picture of tumbling walls, decay, indolence and squalor. On the big drill grounds you see the runways along which the horseman gallops and shoots arrows at a target while the Tartar military mandarins look on. These lazy bannermen were tried out in the new army, but proved flabby and good-for-nothing; they would break down on a twenty-mile march. Fattening on their hereditary pensions, they have given themselves up to sloth and vice, and their poor chest development, small, weak muscles and diminishing families foreshadow the early dying out of stock.

"Reform" is in the air in China, but there are two brands of reform—that of the Manchu rulers and that of the leaders of the people. By "reform" the Government means the suppression of weakening vices like opium-smoking and gambling, the building of railroads, the establishing of a trained police, the strengthening of army and navy and the opening of new sources of Government revenue. But among the patriots "reform" means universal education, industrial training, an improved agriculture, sanitation, a free press, a humane penal system, the expenditure of taxes for the benefit of the people, accounting for public money and responsibility of Government to the chosen respresentatives of the people.

What Peking wants is policies that will help them to hold the powers at bay, swell their revenues and leave them in serene enjoyment of the matchless graft to be tapped from three hundred millions of industrious Celestials. In their naive Asiatic view, the Government exists in order to magnify the luxury and glory of the Imperial Clan. Among the Manchu masters there is no tradition of service, nor can they acquire it in our time. Millions burn with patriotic ardor, and thousands acquainted with Western knowledge realize clearly just what might he done for the people. But the Manchus are careful to exclude them from high places and, after the manner of hereditary parasites, they go on in their old, self-indulgent way.

I talked with an eminent Chinese diplomat, known in two hemispheres, who was *en route* to Peking to sit on a Government board. "I don't suppose I shall be able to accomplish anything," he said. "The men who make the present Government of China are incapable and selfish, and their sole policy is to keep their lucrative places."

When, forty-four years ago, Japan faced about, her Emperor led the way. Spectacled doctors of philosophy headed Government bureaus and enjoyed the immense advantage of putting through their reforms in education or sanitation or agriculture or forestry with the prestige of the oldest reigning dynasty on the globe. But in China the Government does not take the lead in westernization. In zeal for progress the solid enlightened class, the natural leaders of the people, are far ahead of their rulers, and too often they find the Government a barrier in their path. Not long ago a queue-cutting movement starting at Hongkong spread among the people. But the stupid Government, which had obliged its soldiers and its foreign representatives to cut their queues, recalled that in the old days the Manchu conquerors had forced the queue upon the Chinese as a badge of submission. Accordingly they construed the unauthorized cutting of the queue as a kind of treason. They persecuted the shorthaired, false queues came into style and the movement ceased; but imagine the disgust!

The Regent is earnest, but the young man is not strong enough in character to overcome family pressure and petticoat intrigue and palace cabal. Censor after censor has been dismissed after denouncing—as is his bounden duty—that corrupt old blood-sucker, Prince Ching; but the Prince still remains the chief adviser of the Regent. Yuan-Shi-Kai and Tuan Fang, the strongest men that have appeared, the men who do things, were got rid of and control has fallen into the hands of weak and grasping men.

I was tiffining at the Astor House at Shanghai with two old American diplomats who had known China for decades. "Do you realize," said one, "that China has long been on the down grade? Marco Polo, if he traversed the empire to-day, wouldn't begin to find the beauty he found in it six centuries ago. It's no use trying to do anything with the present dynasty. The Manchus are intellectually and morally effete, hence incapable of providing an efficient government. The Chinese have all the brains. The country needs a new dynasty, for only westernization, and that *soon*, can save China from partition." "Yes," agreed the other, "nothing can be done till they get a new dynasty."

"All my best students," said the president of an American Mission College, "are in these secret anti-dynastic societies that ramify all through South China; the finest minds, the noblest spirits. But the selfish, calculating fellows steer clear of conspiracy, for they cast in their lot with the powers that be and are on the lookout for Government jobs."

It is certain that the Chinese who have travelled or studied abroad, or lived in California or the Philippines or the Straits Settlements, despair of their country under its present leadership, and many of the best elements of the nation are leagued to expel the Manchu parasites. Insiders tell me that the revolts that break out here and there are premature flashes in the pan; the work of organizing and smuggling in arms is yet far from complete. It may be years before the Big Thing comes off. Last spring the plot to capture the Viceroy at Canton and issue orders in his name failed through a slip. The Viceroy trapped the revolutionists, had their throats quietly cut, and piled up the corpses in his yamen for the world to look at. Yet, no doubt, he hates the Manchus as much as they did and will do his part when the hour strikes. But he had to butcher them to keep himself straight with Peking.

If China flings off the incubus, one prays that it be done quickly. In a crowded country where myriads cling to existence by their finger tips, the least shock precipitates countless human beings into the abyss. "Nine out of ten in this city," said a missionary at Ichang, "don't know where to-morrow's rice will come from." The brief interruption of river traffic, a short blocking of the interchange between town and country, a brigandage that keeps the terrified cultivator a few days from his fields, and thousands must starve. The vast unpeopled spaces within the walls of Nanking and Soochow and the ruined state of many a South China city testify to the appalling havoc wrought by the Taipings. Certain inner provinces, yet sparse from the Mohammedan rebellions, bear witness to the awful destruction of life in any prolonged civil convulsion in China. Even a successful revolution, that did not promptly replace in every district the crumbling Manchu rule with an efficient government of its own, would work more harm to China than good.

THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA.

By Mr. Kanailal M. Munshi.

I do not think that any one who seriously considers the force and universality of the movement of our generation in the direction of democracy can doubt that this conception of Government will necessarily, at least for a considerable time, dominate in all civilized countries.—*Lecky's Liberty and Democracy.*

IN these days of rampant Imperialism to talk of India and Democracy in the same breath would sound a little ridiculous. However much may the doughty champions of a perpetually parental government be shocked, no clear-sighted mind can help the conviction that Democracy has many of its chapters to enact before its history finally closes. Recently, changes are coming over nations which were long believed to be lifeless. Certain progressive ideas, once regarded as the exclusive property of the Christian world, have defied the limits so arbitrarily set upon them and inspired the ageweary Asiatic to unexpected achievement The Turk, the Persian, the Japanese, have all been roused to sudden energy; and even the Imperial Dragon is stirring up its 'opium-shattered self' under the vitalising effects of the new gospel. And if the predominant features of modern history are clearly traced how nations have developed certain characteristics, and falling, handed them over to others; how events have been shaping to one uniform goal; how certain conditions have been the precursor of a nation's glory and want of them the inevitable prelude to its doom,—the general idea that runs through them will not remain unnoticed that humanity is moving towards a universal democracy or, as Lord Acton laboured to shew, towards assured freedom. Different Ideas have ruled human society from time to time and laid down the essentials of national well-being. And this has been the modern Idea which, as recent events shew, will not rest till it has encircled all nations in one vast embrace. So peremptorily does the present stage of human evolution demand conformation to this Idea, that with present day nations, to live and to be uppermost in the struggle is the same thing as to be democratic. For democratic life necessitates an endless whirl; stimulates individualism; encourages originality; breeds a restless anxiety to improve and reconstruct; infuses a steady vigour which prevents a lapse into easy indolent habits; and thus keeps up an energetic national life-sturdy and adapting enough to perform successfully its proper part in history. It is neither the millenium of the Illumination philosophers, nor the poetic rose-tinted dream of a carpenter; but a stern, inevitable condition which must be realized—however laborious the process—even if a bare existence worth the name is desired. Without it in men there can be no freedom, in nations no life. And in the triumphant progress of this Idea, it is inevitable that India also must play its part.

The spirit of democracy in a country is only indirectly concerned with the form of its government. It is only when the spirit is fully awakened and the existing government sets itself in obstinate opposition to its asserting tendencies that a violent change becomes imperative. Otherwise, many a historical experiment made at a stupendous cost has gone to explode the theory, once well received, that democracy cannot exist without a republican form of government. Democracy exists in England under a limited monarch and a powerful aristocracy. It flourishes in the United States under a President who is armed with arbitrary powers which the proverbial autocrat of All-Russias might well envy. It is being developed in Japan under a prince whose autocracy is accepted in theory as absolutely unbounded. And on the other hand, it did not flourish when the most extravagant form of republican government was sought to be established after the Reign of Terror, and really does *not* in the petty states of South America notwithstanding the republican Government which they are apparently seen to enjoy. This paradox can be easily explained if the real significance of democracy is understood to lie not in the form of government, not in any outward structure, but in the spirit of the people, in their character, habits, and modes of thought. Real democracy is not a mere institution, is not to be confounded with any noisy, lustling, apparent activity, with ballot-voting and blustering party strife. It is something deeper : more an intellectual or moral force than political. It means not only an equality before law but equality of opportunities for all ; and implies a deep consciousness on the part of everyone of being a responsible, integral factor of society ; a sympathetic toleration for all legitimate differences ; and, above all, an absence of those unreasonable restraints which ambition and envy impose and injustice perpetuates ;—in short, a recognition of men as men among themselves, as well as with others. The present ideal is reached, when combined with the modern, ruling Idea of nationality, it tends to create the same feeling in the individual with respect to the state which is expressed by the Vedantin doctrine of **अहं ब्रह्मोस्मि**, when the Universal soul is realized in self. The spiritual yogi realizes that he is Brahma, that every being is a fellow-manifestation of the self-same spirit, works for universal good, is free, self-confident, powerful. The true democrat ought to realize the nation in himself to look upon his compatriots as brothers to yearn for corporate good—to exult in national glory—to feel ' I am the nation'. This political yogism is the only passport to escape the annihilation which threatens every people who lack the democratic instinct. And those are really blind who do not see in our present unsettled condition the germ of such a spirit. For, ' thoughts have gone forth whose powers can sleep no more.'

But when the advent of the Europeans opened up India to the foreign world and dragged her against her wish into the frightful rush of progress which was carrying all humanity with it, its state was as undemocratic as it is in the nature of human society to be. Foreign invasions brought new and more arrogant masters whose trade was only to plunder and enslave. Every revolution gave birth to irresponsible aristocracies with no permanent interest in the land, and before whose indiscriminating rapacity the people had no other course but to prostrate themselves without a murmur, and to bless their stars if they escaped with their lives. Before this regime of unrighteousness, right was out of question. Socially a brutal system based on open injustice cramped the slightest originality and banned the least eccentricity. The province of intellect was once for all chained down to the contemplation of out of date authorities, however absurd—the least flight of unauthorised thought being anathematized as rankest heresy. We were doomed to live as our old Rishis and new invaders were pleased to dictate what with these two sets of masters, the old and the new, hideous chaos reigned. And the noble Aryan soul, cowed and crushed, developed an apathetic docility, sublimely unconscious of any rights as man, or any responsibility as a society or a nation. Even slavery was deprived of its attendant advantage—the security due to insignificance—on account of the rapidity with which the country changed her masters. And we had as much national life as ten centuries of political servitude could leave behind it as great a sense of individual responsibility as could be found in men whose sole thought in life was to live anyhow or by any means.

The British conquest and the introduction of Western culture made us acquainted with the advance which humanity was making, while we were contemplating the past, serving the selfish the present, and had forgotten the future. We knew the demands of the time. We felt that an absorbing admiration of departed glory was not a sufficient substitute for present greatness. And we began to feel a growing intellectual restlessness which makes for constant improvement, and is the only source of progress, as its non-existence is the cause of stagnation. To this was added the inestimable advantage which some of our best men derived from foreign travel, from a personal contact with living nations and assertive democracies. They studied first hand what public life was and tried to awaken the spirit among our educated men here. Organised efforts were inaugurated; and an influential public opinion soon grew up round the leading public spirits. Attempts were made to frame institutions on a popular basis which, as the history of national Congress shows, were attended with no mean success. Even its lamentable rupture had its 'Silver lining' in the fact that a large portion of educated Indians was waxing grimly earnest over its right, and was not inclined to submit to any improper influence even though it proceeded form the honoured idols of the day. Slowly but effectively these institutions are working their way among the people; and a consciousness of one's responsibility—the fundamental basis of democratic public life is plainly perceptible in many of our public actions.

These two forces, education and foreign travel, have also wrought a wholesome change in the social sphere and have taught us in some degree to defy 'the hydra brood of custom.' The old

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institutions are working their way among the people ; and a consciousness of one's responsibility—the fundamental basis of democratic public life is plainly perceptible in many of our public actions.

These two forces, education and foreign travel, have also wrought a wholesome change in the social sphere and have taught us in some degree to defy 'the hydra brood of custom.' The old artificial fabric of our society is fast crumbling away. We are learning to look upon our fellowmen with a more equal eye than what our Shastris with their mummified intelligence would have us do. Our outlook has grown wider and more just. The Government service also helped a little way in this respect by ignoring the old artificial divisions and forming a distinct body of intelligent persons drawn from all possible levels of society. In the beginning this change staggered not a few. But the ancient indignation against it has silently evaporated, leaving behind a clearer atmosphere wherein things are discerned in their natural proportions.

The increasing spirit of industrialism has also generated mutual confidence and a capacity to carry on united work by voluntary co operation. By the influence of joint stock companies and many large industrial concerns set on foot by the people, and by the extraordinary importance given to them by Swadeshim, the public mind has been taught to look upon co-operation as a powerful factor in modern life; as the precursor of national progress; the only step to develope what Herbert Spencer calls the industrial-military type of society. Our industrial progress has not been quite unsatisfactory; and though difficulties do beset the path, they are of a nature which time will certainly remove.

Lastly, local self-government more than anything else given to us by our Government, has been the chief instrument of bringing about in some measure that spirit of democratic responsibility which, in the words of De Tocqueville "constitutes the strength of free nations." "Town meetings", continues that political philosopher, "are to liberty what primary schools are to science, they bring it within the people's reach, they teach men how to use and how to enjoy it." Perhaps in some of our municipalities the use and enjoyment may not have been quite smooth or undisturbed. And we are apt to draw rather hasty conclusions when we come across some violent disturbance or some petty personal warfare at the sacrifice of public good. But some irregularities cannot be helped when thought and character are wrenched away from old moorings to move in new and different ones. And to cry fie on every little aberration would be most unreasoning impatience. Destruction forms the indispensible complement of construction, as individualism does to any democratic growth. Both ought to be welcome in their own way. But judging dispassionately, local self-government has been more successful here than in other lands under similar disheartening circumstances.

In those forces which are making for an democratic advancement, our august legislative councils have no place. They have very little to do with anything democratic and though much expanded have scarcely any educative value. But from the India of the East India Company to the restless, aspiring mother India of George V, with a national self-consciousness there is a visible, palpable progress. We are in an era of active developenent of new acquirements of growing responsibility. Up to this time we have been dragged along the swift current of progress, but now hard times are coming. In all progress there arrives a critical period when semi-consciousness is reached, and when in its dim, hazy light one has to decide for himself, to measure his strength and to follow the right path, or to falter and fail for ever. Viveka, discrimination, between the right and the wrong path, with a clear sense of one's drawbacks, is equally important in politics as in philosophy. To know one's defects is the first step to improve. And it is always a healthy study to consider those fatal drawbacks which have unnecessarily protracted the period of our development.

Whether our Government is helping us, or will help us or not, or whether the present policy of wholesale repression has not a tendency to unite the 'brothers in calamity' of this country is a question of a different nature, of a controversial character, and of no moment to the topic in hand. But to desire to be coached up in democracy appears to be a damning proof of one's unfitness. For the child to be purposely lifted up to reach the full grown stature of manhood is after all a contemptible ambition. To be taken by some one else step by step, through the labyrinthine path of progress would be a facile process indeed were it not impossible. Full, living democracy, like heroic manhood, can only be attained by passing through a critical struggle which tests its strength and developes the necessary powers.

One of the most serious of our drawbacks is the social system. Caste—the fossil of an old world civilization, with its eternal laws and changeless routine engenders a spirit of narrow contentment; creates a foolish sense of one's perfection; cramps the instinct of progressive change. It also breeds discord and isolation, sanctions inequality, and strikes at the root of any co-operation on a national basis. Democracy is based on equality and co-operation, and requires perpetual restlessness—a continuous adoptation to one's environments—a constant striving after perfection. And the indolent, contemplative life in the unchanging grooves of caste-system destroys the impetus to be up and doing. To quote again from De Toequeville's invaluable treatise on America: "In proportion as castes disappear and the classes of society approximate—as manners, customs, laws vary from the tumultuous intercourse of men—as new facts arise—as new truths are brought to light—as ancient opinions are dissipated, and others take their place—the image of an Ideal perfection, for ever on the wing presents itself to the human mind." Our minds are saturated with a philisophy which aims at perfection; our historical ideals like Buddha have been perfections beyond parallel. But a curious fate has made us false to both these by the existence of a state of society whose undemocratic structure has barred us the only modern way to social perfection.

Our half-hearted measures to reform this system have met with the success which such measures generally deserve—that is, no success at all. If the bonds of caste are loosened, it is due to anything else but a direct, destructive effort on our part. What with a theory of reaction and a theory of no action at all, we have chosen to sleep over the question for about a greater part of the century.* And unless bold steps are taken in this direction, it is not possible to dissolve our society into those homogeneous elements without which a pure democracy can never be realized. A litte more of enthusiasm, a little less of timidity and the task would be soon accomplished.

Another and the greatest force in the formation of national character—Education—would have attained this end long ago had it been a vital force. But with the greatest necessity of a sound, unifying education, we have the misfortune to have any scarcely worth the name. But when we see that education has metamorphosed Japan in 40 years ; that in America it works the miracle of welding the heterogenous mass in immigrants varying in natures, traditions and instincts which flows there year after year into one homogeneous democratic whole, we cannot but turn with sad disappointment to the results of our education. In hundred years we have barely gone beyond acquiring the elementary instincts of self-government, and our masses are as little enlightened as before ! The less we say of our clerk-manufacturing education the better. But even after repeated recognition of its defects, the fact that we have not stirred our smallest finger to replace it reflects very little credit on our seriousness. Crying may be an excellent thing in the helpless stage of infancy ; but in a man it would be ridiculous, and if not backed by energetic exertions, contemptible. An education, cheap and easily approachable, which unites, equalises ; is more national than cosmopolitan which leads to the active, democratic existence of the future is *the* demand of the day. Such a culture would effectively cure those long-settled vices which hinder our development, and arrest the baneful action of disruptive forces.

The principal vice which obstructs our progress and which slavery and an uncommon religiosity have naturally fostered is a strange sort of apathy for public matters. An average educated Indian looks upon the affairs affecting the body politic with an air of careless indifference which is sometimes shocking to behold. He waxes eloquent and enthusiastic in the closet-yearns to work when in the privacy of his room ; but the step which takes him to the outer world deprives him of the force of his convictions. Flaming with patriotism he will quietly bend his knees to a petty piece of the most unjustifiable tyrrany ; strong in his convictions, idle curiosity will prompt him to swell the audience of an antagonistic meeting ; intellectually earnest, his conduct will betray the passive hypocrite. With the soul of a martyr, he enacts the turn coat. But to denominate this as deliberate hypocrisy is to do him an injustice. It is a duality of nature so commonly found in those whose open, outspoken temper has been cowed down by the dreaded terror of the political and social lash when he thinks, the spark of human energy glows undummed ; in action, all embracing rigidity of custom and servitude transforms him into a soulless automatom. Generations of self-suppression has benumbed the conscience. 'Wild liberty developes iron conscience' ; remarks Emerson, 'want of liberty by strengthening law stupifies conscience.' In blind acquiesance he finds nothing unnatural. A current Sanskrit adage has taught him not to act against the world's opinion, however pure may be the action.

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*The recent activities at some places on behalf of the depressed classes really deserves to be classed as a noteworthy exception.

This unconscious divergence between conviction and conduct does not result from conscious hypocrisy, but a want of enthusiasm—the heat which melts all calculation down. We, as a people, lack that steady, ever-burning energy which characterizes the citizens of free nations. Our nature has been crusted over with a passivity which even recent agitations have not effectively broken. The tardy progress of social reform, notwithstanding the heroic sacrifice of some scattered individuals, is only due to the easy, diletant way in which we advocate it. We would rather prolong our social miseries for a centuary than 'with an effort end them'! Except in the sphere of religious devotion, we have forgotten to identify ourselves with abstract principles. Prudence is our sole guide ; and under its freezing influence the feeble glow of our infant enthusiasm is scarcely felt. The highest end of statesman has, is according to Herbert Spencer, the formation of character, —not the character, as some misunderstand it, which beneath a sedate, never-erring exterior conceal the dry seeds of self-seeking calculation ; but that which forms the giant and produces gigantic forces—which inspires new life, stimulates latent genius to vast creative efforts, dispels the mist which has thickened for ages—which gives birth to boundless enthusiasm, sincerety which knows no cant, intrepedity which defies all dread. This is the archimedcan lever which we must strive to get. Such a force may be sometimes misapplied. But to attain real democratic life, it is better to err energetically than to move, snail-like in the safe path of well-diagramed correctness —better to stumble in creating, than to walk up quietly to destruction. The respectable type of citizens which we in India are accustomed to respect and which delights in passive indifference in all matters not purely personal may be a good ideal for aspiring *gigmen* ; but it is the poisonous source of national decline. The ex-President of the greatest

Democracy in the world, in his memorable speech before the Sorboune, said that "a citizen is useless, if he is inefficient. There is nothing to be done with that type of citizen of whom all that could be said is that he is harmless. * * * There is little place in active life for the timid good man." This race must disappear before our public life becomes more energetic, and preconcerted manifesto-meetings and paper-activities cease for ever.

In some of our public activities there is a strong tendency to bring in the trivial interests of rival leaders, and thus making all efforts futile, and aspirations selfish. Opposition for the sake of principle displays healthy public spirit and leaves ample scope for toleration; but when based on personal ambition it betrays a narrow-mindedness, enfeebles public life, degrades the national character, gives rise to mean personal conflicts which makes co-operation impossible. The towering personality of the leader, however great, ought to be looked upon in no other light than as the personification of the principle he represents. This is a lesson which is learnt after a long practical democratic life; and which our leaders must ever keep before them and masses never forget. Excessive personal importance on the one side and an uncommon spirit of slavishness on the other destroy the just equilibrium of independent public life, making society unfit for progress. The man who leads when in power must learn to follow when his innings is over. The excellence of a perfect citizen, as pointed out by Aristotle, is thought to consist in the capacity for either ruling or being ruled equally well.

These traits of character which we as a nation have to develop would not have deserved so great a prominence, had not the task before us been extremely arduous; the more so, in being quite the reverse of that which other historic nations had to face. Being autonomons, they changed their institutions at their sweet will first, and then waded through a world of failures and difficulties to high democratic excellence. With us the end has to be the beginning. We are to root out the drawbacks of our character, cultivate national individuality—and then the outward manifestation, the change in our condition and institutions is to follow. The instincts of democracy are not to be developed in a day, or in a generation. Success in democratic life is chiefly based on certain individual peculiarities which require years of experiments unfalteringly carried on.

INDIANS IN STATE SERVICE.

By Mr. Jotey Lal Sarma.

IN reply to the non-official members of the Supreme Legislative Council advocating an increase of pay to ministerial officers in Government employ, Sir James Westland remarked: "I think they ought to restrain their procreative tendencies." It were more effective, perhaps, if Sir James, heckled with demands for money as all Firance Ministers are, had wished for the total extinction and annilhiliation of the ministerial officers and their race—the inevitable tormentors of the Government! The situation is yearly attaining the proportions of a serious and perplexing problem, one phase of which was dealt with great force and clearness by Mr. Subba Row and other Indian members in the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council. Besides involving a grave injustice to Indian claims to higher appointments, the policy which has hitherto guided the Government in filling its offices painfully brings to the fore the unequal treatment meted out to the two classes of its subjects. It may be wrong, circumstances being what they are, to complain on that score, but human nature is extremely slow to change even under pressure. It rebels at once and spontaneously against partiality and injustice, and hence, despite arguments, expostulations and threats, the bestowal of special privileges of every conceivable sort on a particular class of their fellow-subjects has always been bitterly resented by Indians, giving rise to what has been energetically advertised and lamented as the unrest in India. The present is no occasion to explain at any length what the unequal treatment consists of; neither is there need to labour the point. The facts are well-known, though not generally admitted. The assault cases, the unwritten social laws, the avowed and unavowed political heresies, the fetish of prestige and the service rules, all illustrate, silently yet eloquently, in a manner which cannot be misread or misunderstood, how the superiority of the Britisher and the inferiority of the Indian, are preserved and maintained by the zealous, watchful, uncompromising Government. Leaving aside the question as having no direct bearing on the subject under notice, what is intended to bring out here is that a slight modification of the policy would, if only the officials would believe it, vastly improve matters by imparting a healthier tone to the administration—and simplifying the political situation.

It is no idle saying that people grow wiser than their fathers. The Court of Directors had definitely voted as far back as the thirties of the last century against the maintenance of a "governing caste" in British India. But the wiser successors of the Honourable Court enacted regulations which rendered nugatory the declaration of the Act of 1833. Even so late as the closing years of the seventies, or two decades after the transference of the administration from the Company to the Crown under the most solemn pledges that have ever been given by rulers to their subjects and that naturally aroused the keenest hopes, a Viceroy like Lord Lytton confessed that both the Governments of England and of India "had broken to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear." At this day the administrators, far from admitting any injustice, declare that further concession to Indians would jeopardise the interests of good Government. The confession of Lord Lytton, theoretically gratifying though it was, brought no relief to Indians. Several "reorganisations" of the services followed one after the other till 1908, each of which appreciably curtailed the chances of Indian employees and lowered their positiou as much as it widened the prospects and improved the status of the Anglo-Indian officials. "Reorgnisation", indeed, conveys to the Indian a sinister significance, it having successively left him worse off than before, and therefore the less he sees and hears of it the better for him. It is on all fours with the proposal that are made from time to time to cut down an office establishment for economic reasons. In these cases, economy is affected by abolishing half-a-dozen 40-rupees posts and creating one on Rs. 400 for an Anglo-Indian or Eurasian : the reduction has reference to the number of men, not to the amount of expenditure ! The "reorganisations" similarly make reservations in favour of Anglo-Indians as against Indians. If the ways of Providence are curious, those of the lesser gods denominated officials are still more so—absolutely mysterious and bewildering.

The Public Service Commission gave a death blow to the prospects of Indian servants of the Government. Whatever hopes they had before the Commission came into existence, were soon given up. The Commission, besides, developed the fiction which passes by the name of *corps d elite*. This *corps d elite* stands for what the Court of Directors had described as the "governing caste." The Commission recommended the reservation of the higher offices for Anglo-Indians and the creation for an inferior service, known as the Provincial Service, which has been aptly characterised as the Pariah Service. The status of Indian in the Statutory Service was lowered, while the number of appointments listed as open to Indians was reduced. In several other ways, major and minor, the chances of Indians have been systematically curtailed against the spirit which dictated an enquiry into the question and led to the appointment of the Commissions not to mention the proclamations and less gaudy assurances. *Fiats* and arbitrary rules framed by "expets" have brought matters to such a pass that even an acknowledged apologist of Anglo-Indian officialdom like Sir V. Chirol has been constrained to admit and deplore the serious consequences produced by the breach of faith on the part of the State.

Lord Curzon alone, and none else, could instance the treatment of Indians in the public service as "a liberality unexampled in the history of the world". To an over-developed and pretentious imperialist like him, Indians may be fit to be only hewers of wood and drawers of water, any the least uplifting of them from that position being an example of "liberality"; but even the variest tyro, let alone a scholar and a maker of history like Lord Curzon, does not need to be told that the liberality of which his lordship spoke has been surpassed over and over again in India itself, as elsewhere, not excluding proud England. In the Indian States, even in his own strenuous times, the chiefs were vastly more liberal than his lordship had any idea of, while in the good old days of Akbar, not to go further back, the liberality of the then Government was truly unexampled. To substantiate his statement, however Lord Curzon caused tables to be prepared by his trusted lieutenants which served to contradict himself. In the lower ranks of the service Europeans appeared in the tables of statistics like, to use his lordship's words, "a speck of white foam on a dark ocean," but in the higher ranks above Rs. 500, Indians were like storm-blown dry leaves on a field of snow. This will be borne out by the following abstract compiled from the tables :—

Pay. Rs.		Total No. of Government posts.	No. of Anglo-Indians and Eurasians.	No. of Indians.
75—100	...	6,209	1,250	4,959
100—200	...	11,516	4,180	7,336
200—300	...	3,635	1,430	2,205
300—400	...	1,785	1,026	759
400—500	...	1,275	763	512
500—600	...	964	723	241
600—700	...	466	341	125
700—800	...	427	372	55
800—900	...	415	341	74
900—1,000	...	318	199	119
1,000—1,200	...	437	393	44
1,200—1,400	...	151	143	8
1,400—1,600	...	161	147	14
1,600—1,800	...	73	71	2
1,800—2,000	...	140	138	2
2,000—2,500	...	99	94	4*
3,000—3,500	...	27	26	1
3,500—4,000	...	30	28	1*
4,000 and over	...	62	56	8

It will be seen from the above figures that only 7·1 per cent. of the posts on Rs. 1,000 and over were held by Indians. Since Lord Curzon's time the situation has slightly improved. On the contrary, excepting one or two higher appointments given to Indians, new rules have been framed which keep out Indians of unquestioned merit and ability from the Public Works, Survey and Custom Departments in particular. Hardly 9 per cent. of appointments carrying a salary of Rs. 1,000 and upwards are held by Indians, and yet we hear of the preposterous claim put forward by officials and their apologists that great liberality is being shown in the matter. During the last discussion on the subject in the Imperial Council, Mr. Mudholkar gave certain figures showing how Indians fare even in the Railway Service, of which the following is an abstract :—

Name of post.	Salary. Rs.	Total number of employees (approximate).	Number of Indians.
STATE RAILWAYS.			
Chief and Superintending Engineers	1,500—2,750	30	1
Executive Engineers ...	700—1,250	50	7
Assistant Do. ...	380—660	50	2
Royal Engineers ...	550—1,270	38	*Nil.*
Temporary Do. ...	500—1,250	24	1
Managers and Sub-Managers of Railways ...	1,300—3,000	8	*Nil.*
Traffic Superintendents ...	600—2,000	50	1
Deputy and District Superintendents (Superior Service)	250—500	62	7
Loco Department (Superior Service)	250—2,000	100	1
Carriage Department (Do.)	350—1,600	15	*Nil.*
Bridge and Signalling Department	Up to 1,050	12	*Nil.*
Traffic Department (Subordinate Service) ...	250—500	72	4
Loco. Department (Do.) ...	...	131	1
G. I. P. RAILWAY.			
Agent's Office	387½—3,500	7	*Nil.*
Audit and Accounts ...	292—2,000	15	*Nil.*
Engineering Department ...	400—2,000	73	1
Traffic Do. ...	250—2,638	28	*Nil.*
Loco. Do. ...	600—2,200	20	*Nil.*
Carriage and Waggon Department	500—1,700	5	*Nil.*
Stores Do. ...	300—1,275	6	*Nil.*
Medical Do. ...	400—1,200	8	*Nil.*
E. I. RAILWAY.			
Agent's Office	400—3,500	7	1
Audit and Accounts Department	400—2,500	12	1
Medical Department ...	480—1,500	10	*Nil.*
Stores Do. ...	400—1,500	5	*Nil.*
Engineering Do. ...	350—2,750	49	*Nil.*
Traffic Do. ...	250—2,500	62	*Nil.*
Printing, Electrical and Colliery Departments ...	...	...	*Nil.*
	Total ...	949	28

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So, in the high grades of the Railway Service, Indians form less than 4 per cent. of the employees !

The Civil List of Bengal for the quarter ending March, 1911, tells the same tale. All the lower posts are held by Indians, but in the higher ones Anglo-Indian forms an overwhelming majority. For instance :—

	Anglo-Indians.	Indians.
Secretaries, Under-Secretaries. Assistant Secretaries to Government, and Registrars	9	2
Civil Service	186	12
Commissioners of Divisions	7	*Nil.*
Magistrates (1st, 2nd and 3rd Classes)	53	26
Forest Service	25	2
Excise and Salt	5	*Nil.*
Customs	50	3
Post Office (Director-General's Office)	11	1
Telegraph (Superior Service only)	23	*Nil.*
Surveys...	18	*Nil*
Financial Department (Civil Office of Accounts and Audit)	12	2
Indian Educational Service, 1st Grade	2	*Nil.*
Do. do., 2nd ,, ...	2	2
Do. do., other officers ...	22	*Nil.*
Do. do., officers outside the list ...	7	1
Provincial Educational Service (up to Class IV) ...	7	13
Medical Service (higher branch, excepting Assistant Surgeons) (Military Assistant Surgeons who are Europeans are better paid than Indian Assistant Surgeons)	100	*Nil.*
Sanitation and Vaccination Departments	7	3
Public Works Department (up to Class III of Superintending Engineer)	12	1
Do. do. (Executive Engineers) ...	22	6
District and Sessions Judges (up to Class III) ...	31	10
Jail Department (Superintendents of Central, Juvenile and District Jails)	34	6
Do. do. (Deputy Superintendents of Central Jails)	4	*Nil.*
Police Department (D. I.-G.'s Office)	5	*Nil.*
Do. (Superintendents up to 5th grade) ...	41	1
Do. (Assistant Superintendents, up to 3rd grade)	43	*Nil.*
Do. (Calcutta Police), Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners ...	9	*Nil.*
Do. (Calcutta Police), Superintendents...	4	*Nil.*
Do. Do. Inspectors, 1st grade ...	4	*Nil.*

From the table furnished by Sir Harcourt Butler of the Education Department, showing the appointments made between 1898 and 1911 to the Indian Educational Service, it appears that out of 177 posts only 4 were held by Indians.

Certain figures showing the number of posts on Rs. 500 and over, and the number held by Indians were published in the *Gazette of India* of the 13th January last. The following is an abstract :—

Year.	No. of posts on Rs. 500 and over.	No. of Indians.	Percentage of posts held by Indians.
1867	2,182	134	6·1
1903	3,860	606	15·7
1910	5,390	924	17·1

Compared with the increase of education among Indians and in the number of Indians qualified to fill the higher posts, the rise shown in the above table since 1867 is far from satisfactory. Besides, the increase in the number of posts since 1893 would appear to have been almost completely absorbed by the Anglo-Indians and Eurasians. How, therefore, can the Government substantiate its claim that it is doing justice to Indians, and how can it expect to be congratulated on the result? This is not certainly what is meant by "unexampled liberality."

The Hon'ble Mr. Subba Row put the case for Indians admirably well. The official members gave vague assurances that the matter would be looked into with a view to better satisfy Indian claims to higher posts. Sir Archdale Earle replied at length to Mr. Subba Row. He travelled over the same grounds as the mover of the Resolution and his supporters, tracing the history of the public service with reference to the legislative measures passed from time to organise it. Much of what he said was not quite to the point and what he might well have abstained from saying. He pointed out how the laws had befriended the Indians, but not how they had operated in a different way. Official replies are couched in such non-committing and inconclusive terms that their real meaning is always hard to catch. They are too ethereal and sometimes too vapid and platitudinous to be taken seriously. They seem intended more to stifle criticism, divert attention and shelve discussion than to solve a difficulty or fairly meet the questioner. What is asked is not answered. Sir Archdale fought shy of the issues raised by Mr. Subba Row and fell back upon dogmatising that the law did not permit of more Indians being entertained, and that the proportion fixed by the regulations could not be exceeded. He ended by denying the need of holding simultaneous Civil Service examinations in India, depreciating the idea of appointing a Commission of Enquiry and holding out hopes of another reorganisation. What this reorganisation will bring forth, whether it will be of the nature of its predecessors—throwing open one or two higher posts to Indians and leaving the rest in their present state—or whether it is really meant to be carried out, it is beyond our power to guess. Promises are peculiarly liable to be forgotten, on purpose or otherwise, as soon as the circumstances demanding them have changed.

Regarding a Commission of Enquiry, the decision of the authorities not to appoint it cannot be deplored, although many of the non-official members were in favour of it. Sir Archdale truly observed that the Commission, if appointed, would merely mean waste of time and labour. This remark would have been pointless if the Government, as a rule, accepted the recommendations of a responsible committee of experts appointed by itself. But as a matter of fact, the Government has never considered itself bound by the proposals of a Commission, and even Royal Commissions have met with scant courtesy at its hands. The Government accept only such of the proposals of a Commission as are agreeable to it and reject all others as being against its policy and settled principles. The reports of the Commissions of experts are recast, retouched and revised by the expert Secretaries and Under-Secretaries of the Government in consultation with the expert heads of departments. In effect, therefore, the man on the spot rules supreme, Commission or no Commission ; else progress would have been faster. Rightly did Mr. Winston Churchill, as Colonial Under-Secretary, once observed as follows on Mr. Chamberlain's proposal to appoint a Royal Commission to enquire into the moral and economic effects of Chinese labour in South Africa :—"I admire that touching faith in the virtue and efficacy of Royal Commissions which the Right Honourable gentleman has been able to preserve through his many years of parliamentary life. For my part, they are usually appointed with a desire to hang up a subject, to stifle a popular demand by battening it down under a mass of blue-books." In India there is no necessity of looking at the question from a different point of view. Unless the Government be propitious, no number of Royal Commissions will be of any avail.

The reforms wanted in the public service to better equalise the balance have been indicated by Mr. Subba Row. In the first place, the monopolisation of the higher posts by one class of people has got to be checked ; next, more sparing use of nomination, if not its total abolition ; thirdly, better distribution of officers over the different provinces ; fourthly, the raising of the Provincial Service and the removal from it of the stigma of inferiority ; and provision of promotion on well-understood principles from ones ervice to a higher one. Further, the scale of pay, in the lower grades, requires to be raised in view of the increased cost of living : Rs. 50 is not enough for an Indian clerk. If the Anglo-Indian eats and dresses himself well and lives in a better style, the Indian has to support more dependants than the Anglo-Indian has any idea of, and with the pay he gets he is always on the verge of bankruptcy and starvation. Such a state of things should be allowed to continue no longer, and to it is due the dissatisfaction noticeable among Indians. Better treatment, also, they deserve and have a right to expect, but has not been accorded to them. The throwing open of Forest, Opium, Customs and Railway services, both in the higher and lower grades, is another crying need. Mr. Subba Row very well remarked : "You may give us magnificent works of irrigation, you may build up a vast system of railways, you may lighten the burden of taxation, you may drive out famine and bring plenty into this ancient land ; but so long as manhood is dwarfed and self-respect is wounded, there can be no real contentment and real co-operation with the government of the country."

THE
Hindustan Review

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P.,* *on* "*The Critical Faculty.*"

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH :
MR. HAVELL'S IDEALS OF INDIAN ART.*

By Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

IN this book of 188 pages, illustrated with 23 plates of Indian sculpture, Mr. Havell expands, reiterates and reinforces the conclusions set forth in his *Indian Sculpture and Painting.* Perhaps his method is a little over-combative, for a battle already won. For in Europe the attitude of cultivated men towards Indian and all Oriental art has altered much, even within the last five years. A new generation has arisen, willing to study any art with an open mind, to study it from the æsthetic standpoint. Indian art until recently had only been studied as the material for archæological studies, or in the interests of the curio-collector. Now, the emotional and religious (not merely mythological) significance of the greater works, and the social value of the crafts are fully recognized. Thus, Mr. Havell finds an easy prey when he quotes and demolishes the criticisms even of some modern critics, whose opinions published recently were founded on an imperfect acquaintance with the art they referred to. Mr. Havell's greatest service, and very great service, to us all, is the way in which he has laboured to make this art better known. We are glad that his labour, in Europe, has not been in vain. Even the English museums are awakening to a sense of their lamentable deficiencies. What one may hope of this new work, is that it will be of help to Indians in India, who at the present day so little understand their own art, that it is far easier to secure an appreciation of that art from a European than from an Indian audience. To praise Indian art in India, amongst Nationalists and Swadeshists, is to provoke a smile. Only one æsthetic idea has found its way to India from Europe during the XIXth century, and that idea is a false one: it is the assumption that a work of art is good in proportion to its photographic faithfulness to nature. The true view, that illustration and art are different things, and that the aim of *art* is *expression*, would, if realised in India (as it is beginning to be in Europe) have set free our modern minds from scientific prejudices, and made it possible for us to approach with reverence the wonderful beauty which still lingers everywhere around us. As it is, we are at the present day less affected by art, than perhaps any civilised people. As Mr. Havell writes also:

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* *The Ideals of Indian Art.* By E. B. Havell (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London. 1911.) Price 15/.

> In modern times the influence of western "education," with its purely commercial ideals, has been even more depressing to Indian art than the iconoclasm of Aurangzib. Educated India under British rule, while affecting to exchange its own culture for that of the West, has remained entirely aloof from those vital movements in British art and craft which in the last half-century have derived so much impetus from the study and exploitation of Oriental art.... .Western methods of education have opened a rift between the artistic castes and the "educated," such as never existed at any previous time in Indian history. The remedy lies, not in making Indian artists more literate in the European sense, not in teaching them anatomy, perspective, and model-drawing...but in making the literate, educators and educated, conscious of the deficiencies of their own education, which render them unable to appreciate the artistic wealth lying at their doors.

If Mr. Havell realises so clearly the present situation in India, he does not, on the other hand, spare the Western philistine. He is indeed at his best in passages of argumentative defence, emphasizing with praiseworthy insistence what should be obvious to every sensitive student, but has been so strangely ignored:

> The book-learned Western critic starts with an *a priori* conviction that, because Buddhist and Hindu teachers have always regarded the ascestic life as the highest ideal and the shortest road to salvation, therefore there is ingrained in Indian thought generally a dislike and distrust of nature, incompatible with the aims of art, which have always warped the mind and paralysed the hand of

the Indian artist, except when he was influenced by hellenic traditions. This appears to be the view of Sir George Birdwood, who declares that sculpture and painting, as fine arts, are unknown in India. He fails to find in Indian art any examples of the "unfettered and impassioned realisation of the ideals within us, by the things without us ," and recently, in a violent denunciation of Indian sculpture in general, he characterised the Indian conception of Buddha as a "senseless similitude...vacuously squinting down its nose to its thumbs and knees and toes. A boiled suet pudding would serve equally well as a symbol of passionless purity and serenity of soul." The illustrations I have given here and elsewhere appear in his eyes " unshapely, unsightly and portentous...for the most part mechanical bronzes and brasses and the merest Brummagem."[*]

It is a misfortune for India that those who come forward as interpreters of her art to the West should be so constitutionally incapable of appreciating its highest ideals. It seems to me that those who refuse to recognize the intense love of nature with which Hindu thought is penetrated must miss entirely the beauty of the great Hindu poets, of Vlamiki and Kalidasa, as well as the beauty of Hindu (plastic) art. For all Hindu poetry, music, and art reveal the profound insight into nature and the abiding love for it which have dominated Hindu thought throughout its history. They seem, indeed, sometimes to strike notes too high and too deep for Western ears to hear ; but this wider range of sense-perception is the special gift of the artist, poet and musician.

The idea that the soul's salvation can be more speedily won by an ascetic life is, after all, no peculiarity of Hinduism, and the asectic ideal had no more power to repress the free developement of the fine arts in India than the monasticism of the Middle Ages had in Europe. Those who pursued that ideal in daily life were only the smallest fraction of the whole population ; generally those whom misfortune, or some great loss or grief, had driven to seek consolation in retirement from the world. The respect with which they were treated did not prevent others from enjoying the amenities of life to the full. Just as in mediæval Europe the religious impulse which dominated masses sought active expression in artistic work, in the building and adornment of innumerable temples, monasteries, rest-houses for pilgrims, bathing tanks, etc., to which they contributed, some by gifts of kind or money, some by their labour, some by dedicating their lives to the temple service.........

"Puranic" art, or Indian Gothic, which Sir George Birdwood condemns wholesale, is Hindu science and philosophy allegorically interpreted by the great masters of India, in exactly the same way as the great musicians of modern Europe have used popular folk-music as the basis of musical drama. Puranic art is the idiomatic art of India, which hardly becomes truly Indian till it becomes Puranic. If it seems strange to Western minds, we should always remember that it was an art language perfectly intelligible to the people to whom it was addressed. It is the complete expression of the Indian consciousness at the height of its greatest intellectual activity; and for any critic to affect to despise it is simply to exhibit his incapacity for approaching Indian art from the Indian point of view.

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[*] These remarks called forth a letter of remonstrance signed by a number of artists and critics, which appeared in the *Times* At the same time there was founded the 'India Society' of London, for the study and appreciation of Indian culture in its æsthetic aspects.

> It is within the province of a critic to ridicule the work of an individual of a clique, or of a whole school; but it is presumption to condemn whole centuries of creative art—centuries which are mighty landmarks in the history of a great civilisation. The art of individuals or of cliques may be perverse, but the art of a whole people cannot be wrong."

So much for controversy, now perhaps to be at last laid aside for the more enduring work of the study and publication of the existing masterpieces, and the attempt to gather up what remains of living tradition. In this last connection, we would recommend to Swadeshists and reformers, the paper on Architecture by Mr. Havell, published in the last number of the *Hindustan Review*.

We have some criticism to make of Mr. Havell's book. We recognize the necessity of his directly æsthetic, rather than literary enquiry into the 'Ideals of Indian Art'; but perhaps he goes too far in ignoring scholarship. Moreover, though the beginner may be attracted, the book gives him few references to the work of others, and little assistance should he desire to make further investigation for himself. Again, as in the former book, though to a less extent, there is capricious irregularity in the distribution of the diacritical signs for long vowels. Mr. Bain is quoted as if his booklets were really translations from the Sanskrit. The word mystical is constantly used (*e. g.* p. 75) where occult or esoteric is meant. We do not like such spellings as Brahmin, Spolia, Ceylonica, Cingalese, etc. The account of *guna* (p. 69) is misleading. When the Trinity is classified according to *guna*, *Brahma* is said to be rajasic, on account of his creative activity, Vishnu sattvic, and Siva tamasic. But this classification is academic, in practice, both Siva and Vishnu appear in all three forms. Perhaps a majority of paintings of Siva are sattvic. We have even seen a triptych in which sattvic, rajasic and tamasic forms respectively of Siva appeared on the different panels. Indeed, it is not unusual for Devi, fighting against the Asuras, to appear in several forms, some rajasic and some tamasic, in one and the same picture.

There are in India no active volcanoes which could have suggested any part of Indian art symbolism, as suggested on p. 75. These are, however, minor defects. We have no hesitation in recommending Mr. Havell's latest book to all Indians who feel any interest in Indian art.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

THE MAKER OF NEPAL.*

By "An Indian Nationalist."

THE life of Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur, written by his son, the late General Pudma Jung Bahadur Rana, and edited by Professor A. C. Mukerji of the Muir Central College, Allahabad, is at present of peculiar interest, in view of the King-Emperor's recent visit to Nepal. It is the life of a man who was for many years the virtual dictator of Nepal and probably the foremost Indian ruler of the nineteenth century. It is wtitten by his son who possessed a first-hand knowledge of his subject, and who, in spite of the *naivete* and quaintness of thought and phrase and filial extravagance of praise, for which the reader will no doubt make allowance, has given a faithful record of his father's life. The manuscript, it seems, was written by the author's secretary at his dictation, and after experiencing some vicissitudes, came into the hands of Professor Mukerji, under whose editorial auspices it has now been published.

The valley of Nepal, it seems, is the bed of a pre-historic lake, and the local tradition asserts, as it does in the case of Kashmere, that the mountain was cut through by an ancient sage, at the place where the Bagmati passes out of the valley, in order to make the waters escape. The *Vansavali* tells us that at the commencement of *Kali Yuga* the Gupta dynasty was founded by Ne-Mumni, after whom the country is called Ne-pal. It gives many lists of kings and dynasties that succeeded one after another on the throne of Nepal—the Gupta, Ahir, Kirati, Somvanshi, Suryavanshi, Rajput, Vaishya, Thakur, Rajput (a second time) and Kamataki. The Gurkhas who trace their descent to the Sesodias of Chittore, entered in the beginning of the seventeenth century and founded the principality of *Gorkha* from which they derive their name. Under their King Prithivi Narayen, who came to the throne in 1742, they conquered the principalities of Kantipur and Patan and made themselves the masters of Nepal and its inhabitants. It was at this time that they first came in contact with the British, whose troops, sent to assist the Rajas of Kantipur and Patan, they repulsed. The history of Nepal from the death of Prithivi Narayen in 1774, to the accession of Jung Bahadur to premiership in 1846 is a record of political intrigues and crimes in which kings, regents, dowager-queens and prime ministers, strove for mastery against one other. In 1791, there occurred a war with China in which the Gorkhas were beaten and compelled to promise a queniquennial tribute, which continues to be paid to this day. In 1814-16 the Gorkhas fought against the British and on being worsted, became the faithful allies of the Anglo-Indian Government. General Bhimsen Thappa was the prime minister at this time, but his party was ousted in 1837 and he himself is said to have committed suicide. The rival faction of Pandes then succeeded to power but were driven out in their turn and destroyed by Matber Singh, the nephew of Bhimsen, in 1843. Jung Bahadur, the subject of the biography, was the son of Matber Singh's sister. His father had been the governor of a province, but was driven out during one of the former revolutions.

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* *Life of Sir Jung Bahadur of Nepal.* By Pudma Jung Rana. (Pioneer Press, Allahabad.)

Jung Bahadur, who was born in 1817, and was consequently at this time twenty years of age, became an officer in the army and many a story is told of his Rustum-like prowess. With one hand, he is said to have strangled a venomous serpent, he was never known to be defeated in wrestling contests, and his swimming and riding feats showed extraordinary daring and strength. Feminine influence was at this time paramount in Nepal and Jung Bahadur attached himself "to one of the loveliest maids of honour, who was well-known to be the Queen's chief *confidante*." "We must take the incident", *naively* remarks his biographer "as only a stroke of policy, and not of moral turpitude", as if "strokes of policy" do not very often involve "moral turpitude". Nepal was at this time distracted by a sort of triple government, the three rivals being the King, the Queen and the Crown Prince. The king was imbecile who did not know his own mind and leaned sometimes to the side of his son and sometimes to the side of his wife. The Queen wanted to put the Crown Prince out of the way in order to clear the path for the succession of her own children. Matber Singh, the Prince Minister, refused to be Queen's tool and the Queen resolved upon his murder. For some unknown reason, Jung Bahadur was selected to do the deed and he shot his uncle when he was entering the Queen's apartments, to which place he had been hastily summoned on the pretext of her illness. Much can be excused to a filial biographer but we refuse to attach any value to the defence of this cold blooded murder to which we are treated in the book, and which reminds us of the well-known Persian adage that the defence of a crime is worse than the crime itself. On the murder of Matber, Gagan Singh, the paramour of the Queen, rose to power, with Futteh Jung as Prime Minister, while Jung Bahadur was rewarded with a generalship. But Gagan Singh was murdered in his turn, at the instigation of the King, and this was followed by the notorious massacre at the Kote or Court of Assembly, whither all the chief dignitaries had repaired after the murder. Jung Bahadur had taken the precaution of taking his soldiers with him, and taking advantage of some altercation between the partisans of the Prime Minister and his own relations he made a clean sweep of all his rivals. Futteh Jung with many other prominent men (55, in all, not counting obscure persons) fell in the massacre and before it was over, Jung Bahadur had been proclaimed, by the Queen, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief. It was thus that Jung Bahadur literally waded through blood to the national dictatorship of Nepal in 1846.

It was the Queen who had raised Jung Bahadur to premiership, but she soon discovered that in him she had founded her master. He not only refused to help her in her designs against the Crown Prince, but compelled her to go to Benares, where away from the temptations of political intrigue she might be expected to acquire some odour of sanctity. She was accompanied by the King, who, on his refusal to come back to Nepal, was declared by his conduct to have forfeited the throne and was succeeded by his son in 1847. He attempted to invade the country, but was easily defeated and made a prisoner.

Jung Bahadur had the wisdom and foresight to recognise that the safety of Nepal lay in the British alliance, and it was by his influence that the request of the Sikh Government for help during the first Sikh War was rejected by the Nepal Darbar. He was in power when the second Sikh War broke out, and he offered his help to the British which was courteously declined. In 1850, he visited England, in order to acquire a first hand knowledge of that 'strange' country and its civilization. Thus he broke through the trammels of caste, and on his return from Europe gave proof of the broadening of his outlook and of the acquisition of newer and better principles of Ethics and Government by reforming the Penal Code of his country and regulating and restricting the custom of *Suttee*. Many conspiracies were set on foot for his assassination, but he seems to have borne a charmed life. He was in fact the first prime minister of Nepal who escaped a bloody death. Jung Bahadur waged a successful war against Tibet in 1855-56, to which he was provoked by the ill-treatment of the Nepalese merchants at Lhassa, and compelled the Tibetans to sign a treaty by which they agreed to pay Rs. 10,000 a year as tribute, to remit import duties on all goods from Nepal and to receive a Nepalese *vakil* at Lhassa in order to look after the interests of his countrymen.

When the Mutiny broke out in Upper India, in 1857, Jung Bahadur at once made an offer of help. This was at first declined, but afterwards accepted, and the Gorkha army under the personal command of Jung Bahadur took part in the final capture of Lucknow and in the military operations which followed for pacifying Oudh and Rohilkhund. Many of the mutineers took refuge in Nepal, and it must be said to the credit of Jung Bahadur that he offered an honourable asylum to the Begum of Lucknow, her son Birjis Qadar, and the wives of Nana Sahib, in the same way in which he had done to the mother of Duleep Singh some years before. The British Government restored the greater part of the Terai, taken after the war of 1814, to Nepal, as a recompense for the services of the Nepalese troops in putting down the Mutiny. But in spite of these alliances and acts of friendship all efforts of the Anglo-Indian Government to induce the Nepal Darbar to relax their jealous rules regarding the exclusion of foreigners proved friuitless. The Nepalese have a saying that "with the merchants comes the musket and with the Bible the bayonet", and the experience of almost all eastern nations justifies the wisdom of the proverb.

In 1873, Jung Bahadur was created a Grand Commander of the Star of India and the same year 'he received......from the Emperor of China, the insignia of "Thwang Ling Pimma ko ko Kong Wang Syang",......which means "Leader of the Army, the Most Brave in every Enterprise, Perfect in Everything, Master of the Brave People, Mighty Maharaja'". Two years later he resolved to pay a second visit to Europe, but meeting with a serious accident at Bombay he gave up his intention, While he was on his way to Bombay he halted at Allahabad, where there occurred an incident which throws a curious sidelight on the ways of the sun-dried bureaucrat. "The next day", says the biographer "as he communicated his intention of performing a bath at the Tribeni, the sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Strachey sent word in reply that he was not permitted to take *armed* followers with him to the banks of the river. He was much hurt at this attitude of the Lieutenant-Governor, whose conduct reflected a suspicion of the Nepalese, which the Maharajah did not reciprocate. He felt much grieved that the British Governor should harbour any such uncharitable feeling against one who had shed the blood of his countrymen in the cause of the British. With a sense of offended dignity he at once cancelled his proposal of bathing in the sacred waters, and issued orders forbidding his men from appearing at all on the banks of the Ganges, on pain of death. Rumours of this unpleasantness flashed to Calcutta, and the Viceroy instantly telegraphed to Sir John Strachey forthwith to withdraw his restrictions and to allow the Maharaja to have his will. The Maharaja was satisfied, but he informed Sir John of his desire to defer the bathing till he came back to Allahabad on his return.

Jung Bahadur died on the 25th of February, 1877, fter ruling thirty years over Nepal. And, whatever may be said of the way in which he obtained his power, it must be admitted that he always exercised it for the good of his people. His rule was wise, firm and peaceful, and during his time his country enjoyed a respite from that political turmoil and confusion to which it had been long subjected. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest benefactors of his country and his son had rendered a service of no small value to the historical literature of India by giving as this first hand account of the maker of modern Nepal. All those who are interested in following the fortunes of perhaps the only independent Indian State will do well to make a careful study of this book, which, in spite of its obvious limitations, is a work of considerable merit and deserves appreciation,

THE AWAKENING OF CHINA.

By Mr. Byron Brenan.

IT is now more than twenty years since the then Chinese Minister in London allowed himself to be put forward as the author of an article entitled "The Awakening of China." It was received at the time as a serious symptom that China was about to abandon her old traditions and enter into a period of material development which would bring her abreast of other nations, and a good deal of speculation was indulged in as to the result. Would this be a "Yellow peril," or would it be a valuable accession to the family? We know now that Marquis Tseng's anticipations were premature. It cannot be said that the signs by which he judged were at the time very apparent to Europeans. In his case it may well have been that he had a purpose to serve—that as the a "quantité respresentative of a Power which was being openly denounced and treaded as négligeable," it would be well for him to remind the aggressors of his country that she might soon emerge from that condition, and that the balance might be redressed in the near future.

At the present time attention is again being called to a change which is coming over the sprit of the Chinese; or, more properly, over the mind of those who are shaping the public opinion which will become the driving force of the future. Again, signs of an awakening are apparent; but on this occasion they are more clear to the observer than to those who are under its influence. The historian will not in the case of China, as he is when treating of Japan, be able to indicate a precise moment when the new departure took place; but if the forces now at work in China are to have the results which many competent observers predict, it is probable that future writers will put the dawn of the awakening at the time of the China-Japan war of 1894. A true appreciation of China's shortcomings must have deeply impressed some of the master minds in the Empire, before the Emperor in 1898 could have initiated the measures of reform which in their suddenness and radical tendency took away the breath even of China's most impatient critics. Chinese, with their long dynastic lienage, their huge country, their old-established civilisation, have good reason to be proud of themselves as a people, and the signal defeat they met with at the hands of what to them was an insignificant Power set them a-thinking. What must have been as painful as this humiliation was a comparison between the attitude of foreign Powers towards Japan and the attitude of the same Powers towards China. In Japan friendly representation, reciprocal negotiation, mutual concession; in China, ceaseless pressure, seizure of territory, naval demonstrations and ultimatums. Casting a retrospective glance, the recollection of the humiliating treatment they have had to put up with at the hands of some foreign nations must be galling to the patriotic statesmen, and a strong desire to become masters in their own house must possess all Chinese subjects

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* *The Awakening of China.* By W. A. P. Martin, M. D., LL. D., (Hodder and Stoughton. London. 16s. net)

Anglo-Chinese Commerce and Diplomacy. By A. L. Sargent (Clarendon Press. Oxford. 12s. 6d. net.)

Railway Enterprise in China. By P. H. Kent (Edward Arnold, London. 12*s*. 6*d*. net.)

whose knowledge of the word's affairs enables them to view the relative position of China and other Powers in true perspective. We are apt to overlook the fact that a man's actions and aspirations are the outcome of the ideas that are passing through his head, and not of the views which we consider he ought to hold. A persual of the three books which are the texts for this article should satisfy most readers who can for the moment invest themselves with a Chinese nationality that much of the anti-foreign feeling with which the Chinese are charged, as well as the cry of "China for the Chinese," and the desire to be strong enough to resist coercion, are not only natural but laudable. The words of Mr. Sargent in his *Anglo-Chinese Commerce and Diplomacy* merely give utterance to thoughts which are passing through many Chinese minds :

> At presept China is in tutelage, with her financial and economic policy laid down in treaties forced on her by foreign Powers ; such conditions would not be tolerated for a moment by a Sovereign State possessing the power to remove them. The Chinese may be coerced into restraining their resentment for a time ; the history of their relations with European Powers proves amply that they neither change nor forget. Once they obtain sufficient material force, they are likely to assert, in no uncertain fashion, the claim of that right enjoyed even by minor Western nations, the right to determine for themselves the conditions of intercourse with foreigners. The vast possibilities of the country suggest the thought that the consequences, whether political or economic, may not redound to the advantage of the Western nations which have hitherto treated China as an uncivilised region, to be exploited for the sole benefit of the self-elected exponents of the ideas and methods of European civilisation.

China has now realised that she can no longer remain wrapped in her exclusivism. Contact with foreign nations was in the first instance forced on her ; now she voluntarily maintains relations with outside countries ; but a new spirit has come into existence which tells her that international relations on the present conditions are unsatisfactory. It is the birth of a national self-respect which should be full of promise for the well-wishers of China. It may well be that each one of the Poweis in treaty relations with China would like to see that country become a land of peace and plenty, eager to exchange its products for those of its neighbours ; but not a few of these well-wishers would at the same time like to see China remain a passive resister, incapable of self-defence. Such a selfish attitude would be intelligible if it were only one foreign Power which was dealing with China ; but when it comes to China being intimidated from freely negotiating with a neighbouring State, or to some concession being extorted from her by one Power to the detriment of all the others, sober reflection would suggest that the balance of advantage lies in having a strong China, able and willing to resist aggression. It is not long ago that the British Foreign Office was instructing its representative in Peking to inform the Chinese Government that Great Britain would support them against the aggression of any Power on account of concessions to British subjects. Brave words, but it would suit our purpose as well if China was in a position to dispense with this assurance.

II.

We have stated that China has been, and will again be, influenced by her own estimate of facts, and not by that of foreign critics, or even friendly sympathisers. A good instance of this failure on our part to understand that China does not look at things from our point of view and shape her course accordingly is afforded in some of Dr. Martin's remarks regarding the boycotting of American goods by Chinese merchants in retaliation for the treatment of Chinese in the States. Dr. Martin does not exonerate the Americans—quite the contrary, he condemns the harsh treatment to which Chinese are subjected in America ; but he is pained to think that such a trivial incident should cause the Chinese to forget the great benefits they have received at the hands of the United States. Whether the danger was imminent or remote of the disintegration from which Dr. Martin claims that the United States saved China, is probably as well known to the Chinese as to anyone else. The chestnuts have so often been pulled out of the fire for her, so many self-denying assurances regarding China have been exchanged between foreign Powers, that she may not unreasonably conceive that her integrity is of as great interest to others as to herself, and that when the critical moment arrives, some powerful allies will be found ranged on her side from motives of self-interest. Be that as it may, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people are rather more suspicious than most others of Greeks bearing gifts and of persons who claim credit for doing things from altruistic motives. In the Chinese mind, whatever action America found it expedient to take, that country found its *quid pro quo* somewhere, and the gratitude due under the circumstances will be forgotten long before the harsh treatment to Chinese and the implied slight to Chinese *amour propre* have ceased to be treasured as a grievance. And yet Doctor Martin, a man who has spent over fifty years in China and who is so thoroughly in sympathy with the Chinese, fails "to see ourselves as others see us" and blames China for not judgiag of things by his standard.

To our thinking Doctor Martin is not quite fair towards China in his chapter on "Anti-foreign Agitation." Speaking broadly, China is very tolerant of foreigners, as indeed she is of foreign religions. Men of every race may settle in the country if they will only take China as they find it and refrain from upbraiding her for not conforming to their ideals. On these terms China will give hospitality to any one who may come and, in the course of a few generations, absorb them and make good Chinese of them. But what from the beginning she has disliked, and the dislike is now growing into resentment, is any form of foreign imperium in Chinese imperio. It is not the presence but the acts of Christian missionaries which are a fruitful source of misunderstanding, quarrels, riots, and even bloodshed. One may speak with the utmost respect of missionaries as a body and of their work and their aims, but amongst the hundreds there must be black sheep, intolerant bigots, and tactless enthusiasts. Thus Mr. Sargent :—

> There was no strong desire on the part of the Chinese to withdraw toleration on the ground of speculative belief ; the Christians were as free as the Mahomedans in matters of faith, so long as they obeyed the law of the land. But the methods of some of the missionaries tended to withdraw the Chinese converts from civil allegiance. Such, at any rate, was the opinion of Chinese officials, an opinion shared by some of our own representatives, and supported by unwise conduct on the part of individual missionaries and their converts. The vital point was not the purity of motive or the real character of missionary effort, but the interpretation placed upon these efforts by natives of China and the Chinese Government.

It is the exasperation caused by these unwise men which occasionally develops into acts of outrage ; but still for each one of these there are a hundred tactful considerate men of refined feeling who with their flocks are allowed to lead the even tenor of their way, and this fact should in justice be placed to the credit of Chinese religious toleration. For years past China has felt the necessity of removing causes of friction, notably after the Tientsin massacre in 1870, when China invited the foreign Powers to join her in framing regulations for controlling missionary enterprise. More recently, in the Mackay treaty of 1902, an article was inserted providing for a commission to investigate the missionary question, with a view to averting future trouble. When the time comes for putting this article into effect, the Chinese negotiators, with their new-born ideas of what Chinese independence means, may be trusted to do their utmost to put an end to the missionary phase of imperium in imperio.

In the movement now going on in China nothing is calculated to have greater influence than the new system of education, which, under official encouragement, is superseding the time-honoured Chinese curriculum. Throughout the provinces college and universities on the Western model are established, woman is now deemed worthy of education, and a knowledge of what is passing outside China is a marked recommendation. What is perhaps of greater importance is the fact that there are at present several thousand Chinese students in Japan, Europe, and America, the greater part under the auspices of their Government. Of these a great number are destined in the future to hold official appointment, and some to be in positions of great influence. Time was when an education obtained abroad was a distinct bar to official advancement. Some twenty years ago young Chinese who had received their education at their Government's expense in different American universities on their return to China were considered only fit to become telegraph or railway clerks and unworthy to be classed with the stay-at-homes who had followed the usual Chinese classical curriculum. But with the awakening of China of which we are treating a change has come over the prospect of these same students. Three have become the diplomatic representatives of their country abroad; one has held a high post in the Chinese Foreign Office and is Governor of a Manchurian province; one is Director-General of a State Railway; and two more hold important provincial appointments and are the officials with whom Foreign Consuls have to deal in international questions. In view of this it is a fair assumption that in years to come many of these thousands of students, who are gaining valuable experience abroad, will fill important positions under the Chinese Government and will be potent factors in shaping their country's destiny.

III.

A description of the battle of railway concessions in China would occupy many pages, and it would disclose a good deal that is not to the credit of the foreign concessionnaires of the Governments which support them. Soon after the termination of the China-Japan war there began what has been well called "that mad scramble for Chinese concessions." This was the period when persons of lively imagination arrived in China armed with a map and a flat ruler, after the manner of a Russian Czar, and proceeded to apply for railway concessions from here to there, regardless of mountain chains and rivers. Like excited men looting a town, they took up one thing, dropped it for another, and then tried something else, until they became hopelessly confused ; this bewilderment was infectious, and attacked even their diplomatic representatives. It is reported that at one of the legations a kind of visitor's book was kept, in which the concession-seeker inscribed his name and his line of railway, and went away feeling much relieved. Concession is an elastic term. What was meant by concession in these days was that the Chinese Government should commission the Foreign Syndicate to construct a railway after its own fashion ; that the necessary funds should be obtained by selling Chinese Government bonds in the foreign market ; and that if the whole thing was a financial failure the loss would fall on China. It was a very one-sided arrangement, the more so that the bargain seemed, in any case, to be binding on the Chinese Government, and only on the Foreign Syndicate if there was money in it. The foreigner, speaking comprehensively, has not played his cards well. In ordinary business a tradesman when he has secured a customer tries to retain his good opinion ; not so in the Chinese railway business. It is safe to say that in not one case will China say : So-and-so treated us well ; he has secured our confidence, and he will have our future custom.

That the Chinese Government can obtain the money from its own people is doubtful ; it is not that the money is not there, but it is not forthcoming. China will have to fall back on foreign capital ; but each successive railway agreement goes to show that she intends to have the control of her railways, and will do without them rather than submit to foreign control and interference. China is now returning to the views held by the well-known Viceroy Chang Chih Tung, who, as early as 1889, was in favour of constructing strategical trunk lines, entirely under Chinese control. It was national safety that prompted the idea then ; it is national pride that has now revived it. Matters have now gone far enough for us to see that a system of State railways has been evolved, and in his concluding chapter Mr. Kent makes an intelligent forecast of the future of railways. Assuming, as he does, that they are to be under Government control, he first asks : how far will the policy of foreign Powers interfere with the development of this State system ? and he comes to the conclusion that China will now be left to develop her railways in her own way. His next point is : "Is a system of State railways the best conceivable for China ?" and his answer is that it is the only possible system, for which opinion he gives very cogent reasons. Finally, he asks on what lines a State system of railways should be most usefully developed ; and he favours an extension of the system now in force in Imperial railways of North China. What Mr. Kent suggests is quite in accord with the views of the new party of progress in China, and it is probable that the many thousands of miles which must be constructed in China before the country is adequately served will come into existence in the way he suggests.

There are other points on which one would like to touch if space permitted, but if the present situation as suggested by a perusal of these works is to be summed up in a few words, it is this : China, because she could not help it, has shown great toleration and patience ; foreign Powers in taking advantage of this have gone too far ; and now China intends to reconsider the situation.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ANNUAL BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

Whitaker's Almanak for 1912. Edited by Joseph Whitaker, F. S. A., (12, Warwick Lane, London.) Price 2*s.* 6*d.* Abridged edition, 1*s.*

Hazell's Annual for 1912. Edited by Hammond Hall. (Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ld., 52 Long Acre, London.) Price 3*s.* 6*d.*

The British Almanac and Companion for 1912. (Cassel & Co., Ld., La Belle Sanvage, Ludgate Hill, London, E. C.). Price 1*s.*

The Daily Mail Year-Book for 1912. (The Associated Newspapers, Ltd., London. E. C.) Price 6*d.*

The Daily News Year-Book for 1912. (The Daily News Ld., London). Price 6*d. net.*

Who's Who for 1912. (Price 10*s.* 6*d.*) and *Who's Who Year Book*, 1912-13. (Price 1*s.*) (Adam & Charles Black, Soho Square, London).

Whitaker's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage and Companionage for 1912. (12, Warwick Lane, London.) Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Literary Year-Book and Bookman's Directory for 1912. (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, Ludgate Hill, London. Price 5*s*,

The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book for 1912. (Adam & Charles Black, Soho Square, London.) Price 1*s.*

The I. L. P. and Socialist Year-Book for 1912. (The National Labour Press, 130 Blackfriars Street, Manchester.) Price 6*d.*

The Socialist Annual for 1912. (XXth Century Press, Ld., 37 A, Clerkenwell Green, London, E. C.) Price 3*d.*

The Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory for 1912. Edited by G. E. Mitton, (Adam and Charcles Black, Soho Square, London, Price 2s. 6*d.* net)

WHITAKER'S *Almanack* and *Hazell's Annual* are *par excellence* "books of reference," in the popular sense of the term. The *Almanack*—of which the present issue is the forty-fourth annual edition—contains "an account of the astronomical and other phenomena, a vast amount of information respecting the government, finances, population, commerce and general statistics of the various nations of the world, with special reference to the British Empire and the United States"; while the *Annual*—which is in its twenth-seventh year of issue—is "a record of the men and movements of the time" and each of the books is furnished with a full index. These extracts from the explanatory titles will fairly convey to the reader the scope and object of the two publications. Both books deal largely with statistics, with perhaps this difference that while *Whitaker's Almanack* is a statistical book both in intention and achievement, *Hazell's Annual* is not so frankly statistical but professedly readable. The difference between the two works might be brought out by saying that, whereas *Whitaker's* deals with statistics only, *Hazell's Annual* handles statistical facts, which are put in a fairly readable form. Both books exhibit on the part of their editors vast industry, limitless patience, and an admirable spirit of collation and comparison. It is a different thing, of course, to say that no such book can claim absolute accuracy. But with *Whitaker* and *Hazell* on his bookshelf—as the two supplement each other—no public man or publicist can have any excuse for pleading ignorance of, or making misleading statements on, any of the topics of the day. The Indian sections of both the books have been improved in the light of the criticisms offered by us in our notices of the previous years' editions, yet some minor mistakes remain. *Whitaker* still declares (p. 548) that the work of the Government of India "is now conducted by ten departments"—instead of eight—while *Hazell* (p. 144) mentions "Public works" as one of the separate departments of the Government, which, of course, it is not. Making allowance, however, for such mistakes in the Indian sections—mistakes ineviatable in the case of writers gathering materials from administration reports and blue-books, without any personal knowledge of India—the bulk of the information contained in both the books is extremely accurate and trustworthy, and they are, on the whole, works of reference of striking merits and exceptional excellence, which no student of current events can possibly do without. The present editions of both teem with thoroughly up-to-date and most valuable information on almost every current topic of popular interest.

II.

The British Almanac and Companion is one of the oldest publications of its kind, the volume under notice being the eighty-fifth annual edition of the book. And it is not only one of the oldest but one of best annual works of general reference and contains miscellaneous information on a large number of current interest. With certain differences, it is conceived and executed on the same lines as its younger competitor for public favour—*viz.*, *Whitaker's Almanack.* In the present edition considerable alterations and additions have been made, and the whole work has been thoroughly revised, amplified and overhauled. It is claimed that most of the matters dealt with have been handled by experts, and so far as we have tested the book, the claim seems to be well-founded. The section devoted to British India and British possession in Asia gives a lucid and well-arranged summary of Indian administration. On the whole, the *British Almanac and Companion* is not only the cheapest but one of the most valuable works of general reference and compendious information.

III.

To those who cannot afford to purchase any of the books of reference noticed above, might be cordially commended the *Daly Mail Year-Booh* "the little red book," as it calls itself. Its explanatory title is :—"A Hand-Book to all the Questions of the Day," and it is now in the twelfth year of its publication. The *Daily Mail Year-Book* is certainly one of the most marvellous compendiums of general and statistical information, which can be had at the low price of six pence. The issue under notice is divided into the following twelve sections :—Special Articles, Questions of the Day, Parliament and Politics, Personal, Travel and Traffic, the Empire, Foreign Affairs, Education, Commerce, Land Agriculture and Financial, and Naval and Military. The *Daily Mail Year-Book* thus covers a large range of subjects, and each section of it is so full of information, alike interesting and instructive, that every one who will dip into it will materially add to his stock of useful knowledge. Our only complaint against the *Daily Mail Year-Book* is, that it does not pay adequate attention to the fortunes of the Indian Empire and the space allotted to Indian subjects is scarely commensurate with the importance of India as a factor in the British Empire. We hope that in its next issue the editor will see his way to materially expand the Indian section, so that it may be an exhaustive repertory of sound and useful information about the great British Indian Empire.

The Daily News Year-Book—now in the third year of its publication—is evidently a Liberal counterblast as a work of reference, to the Tory *Daily Mail Year-Book*, and curiously its price is the same as that of the latter—*viz.*, 6*d. net.* For this trifling cost, the *Daily News Year-Book* is a truly marvellous compendium of highly useful and specialised information on an immense range of sociological topics of current interest. It is divided into several sections, and each section is further sub-divided into a series or groups of connected subjects. The book deals with all topics of current interest. The scope of the book is most comprehensive and the information it brings together is valuable by reason of its being well-arranged and accurate. In almost every section special articles appear from the pen of experts. A notable feature is the list of important books on most of the topics dealt with, with the aid of which one may pursue further the subject, on which information is sought. Altogether the *Daily News Year-Book* is an invaluable work of réference and should find a large sale in India, in spite of the fact that this country gets in it but scant attention. We hope India will fare better in the next edition.

IV.

Who's Who and *Who's Who Year-Book*, as their names indicate, practically constitute one work in two separate parts. The information contained in the *Year-Book* used originally to be printed along with *Who's Who*, and was a popular feature of the book, but is now separately published, by reason of the growing bulk of the latter. The *Year-Book* consists of a series of useful tables, so well arranged that the information sought can literally be seen at a glance, and comprises much original matter, not accessible in even more expensive works of reference. Barring petty inaccuracies which are difficult to avoid in a work of reference, it may safely be said that *Who's Who Year-Book* is a most useful and handy compendium of general information and a necessary adjunct to the great biographical annual—*Who's Who*—from which it takes its name. *Who's Who* is *the* annual dictionary of contemporary biography. It is a biographical manual briefly recording all that is worth knowing of living celebrities. It extends over nearly 2,250 pages and, making allowance for omissions and deficiencies inevitable in a work of this kind, *Who's Who* is, beyond all doubt, the best and the most compendious annual biographical directory of the world's prominent persons in all walks of life and is, as such, a most valuable and absolutely indispensable work of reference. Men and women of the British and Irish nationality naturally predominate, but the leading men and women of note of the Continental, American and Australian countries also find a place in its pages. India, however, cannot be said to be adequately represented. Even in the sketches of the few Indians whose names appear, there is a "sense of disproprotion"—Indian noblemen and titled men being lionised, such, for instance, as is the case in Sir Roper Lethbridge's *Golden Book of India*, at the expense of distinguished Indian public men and leaders, the vast majority of whom are conspicuous by their absence in *Who's Who.* We hope that the usefulness of the next edition will be materially increased by a serious attempt being made to furnish sketches of the distinguished Indians—the leaders of public opinion in the different provinces.

V.

Whitaker's Peerage, Baranetage, Knightage and Companionage, is, if we many say so, a *Who's Who*, on a small scale, of peers, baronets, knights and companions of the British Empire. There are many bulky publications on the subject, two of the best known being those of Burke and Debrett. But for ready reference and every-day use in India, *Whitaker's Peerage* fully serves the purpose. Its arrangement is simple, its statements are, on the whole, accurate, and it gives just the information about peers, baronets, knights and companions, that an Anglo-Indian or Indian publicist would ordinarily require. Its handy size, neat printing, excellent get-up and, above all, its very moderate price, are all strong recommendations in its favour, and it should find a place on the book-shelf of every publicist in India. The usefulness of the book to seekers after knowledge in this country, is enhanced by its including sketches of the knights and companions of the Indian orders, as also by supplying information about what are infelicitously called "Native Indian" titles, and a glossary of Indian words bearing on the subject-

VI.

The next two books on our list are works of reference for literary persons, as they deal with the world of literature and journalism. The *Literary Year-Book* is now in its sixteenth year of issue and it has long been acknowledged to have supplied a real want. It gives a literary calendar, an exhaustive list of contemporary authors and their chief works, a list of literary agents, typists and press-cutting agencies, a summary of the laws of copy-right, a "table of royalties" for the benefit of authors who adopt the method of payment called "royalties," a list of leading British, Continental and American publishers and booksellers, lists of periodical publications with contributors' guide—one alphabetical and the other classified according to the subject-matter of the contents of the periodicals—a list of learnd societies all over the world, a list of the world's principal libraries and, lastly, technical information about the production of books A "classified list of publishers" is a new and useful feature of the present edition. It would thus be seen that the *Literary Year-Book* is an indispensable *vade-mecum* for all persons connected with the press or devoted to literary pursuits. The *Literary Year-Book* is, so to say, a bookman's directory, on a large-scale, and it may fitly be designated the "Bookman's Manual." In the preface to the current edition, there is an interesting account of last year's important events in the journalistic and literary world. We are glad to find that the editor has been able to expand the section to Indian journals and periodicals. This has materially enhanced the value of the book, as a work of reference, to seekers after information about Indain periodicais. In the British list of periodicals we miss the *Buddhist Review*, the *Daily News Year-Book*, the *Homeward Mail*, the *Moslem World*, the *Overland Mail*, the *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, and the *Round Table*, and in the American list the *Twentieth Century Magazine* of Boston. *Indian Education* rightly appears in the Indian list, as it is printed and published at Bombay, but the fact of its being owned by Messrs. Longmans is no justification for its appearance in the British list also, from which it ought to be removed. Nor should American publications, simply because they have a London office, be allowed to appear in the British list. Mr. T. P. O'Connor is not the editor of *M. A. P.* We notice with pleasure that the editor has again appended in the present issue a complete classified list of the various series of cheap reprints of classics, which have been so prominent a feature of the publishing trade during the last few years. We are glad to find that the list has been made a permanent feature of the *Literary Year-Book* and trust it will be revised from year to year and kept up-to-date. The list is of great value to all book-lovers, but it will be particularly appreciated in India—educated Indians, as a class, being too poor to purchase expensive editions.

The *Writers' and Artists' Year-Book* in a way supplements the *Literary Year-Book.* It contains a large number of addresses of periodical publications to which Mss. may be sent, as also an indication of the contribution that each particular publication requires, besides all such general information as would facilitate the placing of literary work. In the list of journals mentioned, special attention is drawn to all details of importance—such as the length of Mss. likely to be accepted, the kind and quality of matter suitable and the style of illustration generally employed. The book also supplies the want of artists who though working with pen and brush, desire acceptance of their output in magazines. It is thus a very useful little book, the information in which, though necessarily brief, is of great utility to all connected with the press or literature. In the current issue, in the list of "Journals and Magazines," we find only one Indian publication—the *Theosophist* of Madras. It would largely increase the value of the book as a work of reference, if the editor could see his way to devote—like the *Literary Year-Book*—a special section to Indian periodicals. In the list of the American periodicals there should have been mentioned *Open Court* and the *Twentieth Century Magazine.*

VII.

The *I. L. P. and Socialist Year-Book* covers the whole field of British political and economic activities, though its primary object, that of collating and bringing together a mass of useful and accurate information on socialistic problems, is well kept in view. It is, no doubt, primarily useful to British politicians and publicists, but writers and public men in India also will find it of great service. It is a useful manual for all interested in matters affecting capital and labour in the United Kingdom and many other countries. For the very small sum of six pence, it offers a mass of accurate and trustworthy statistical and political information, which can be obtained by the student only as a result of considerable research in a large number of blue-books reports and other official and non-official publications. It is the most complete record and review of the labour and socialist movement in all parts of the world and its international aspects are also fully dealt with. The *Socialist Annual,* new in the seventh year of its publication, covers, so far as the United Kingdom is concerned, much the same ground as the *I. L. P. and Socialist Year-Book.* It is well put together and brings into strong relief the strength and activity of the socialist movement. Altogether, in regard to socialism and movements connected with it, it is one of the cheapest and handiest labour-saving annuals in existence.

VIII.

The *Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory* is now in its thirty-first of publication and is too well-established a favourite with those for whom it caters to need the reviewer's commendation. It is divided into several sections, grouped under various headings. Each of these sections is comprehensively dealt with and the information brought together by the editor is valuable and interesting. In India, the book will be found to be very useful not only by Anglo-Indian ladies, but also by social reformers and publicists interested in questions concerning "women's cause," of which it is an encyclopiadic record. The present edition has been completely revised and rearranged and, with a view to facilitate reference, many new headings and a wide system of cross-references have been introduced and the index appreciably enlarged.

THE HOME UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

The Papacy and Modern Times, 1303-1870 : By Dr. William Barry. *History of Our Time, 1885-1911* : By G. P. Gooch. *Evolution of Industry* : By Prof. D. H. Macgregor. *Civilisation of China* : By Prof. H. A. Giles. *English Literature—Modern* : By G. H Mair. *Psychical Research* : By W. F. Barret, F. R. S. *The Dawn of History* : By Prof. J. L. Myres. *Elements of English Law* : By Prof. W. M. Geldart. *Astronomy* : By A. R. Hinks. *Introduction to Science* : By Prof. J. A. Thomson. (Messrs Williams and Norgate, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London). 1910. Price 1*s* net., each vol.

WE welcome the third instalment of ten volumes of "The Home University Library series," which we have characterised at length in noticing the first and second instalments of ten volumes each. With the third batch of the ten volumes enumerated above, we are prepared to give unstinted and unqualified praise to the great enterprise of Messrs. Williams and Norgate, the publishers of this remarkable series of books, which are one and all most excellent aids to general culture. Written by specialists and experts, each volume is a little masterpiece and the scope of the series is comprehensive enough to include almost all branches of human knowledge, some acquaintance with which is necessary to cultured men in these days, whether in the East or in the West. Though the books are primarily meant for people in the United Kingdom, they are none the less acceptable to us in India, and we once more commend them to Indian and Anglo-Indian readers in this country.

The present batch of ten volumes includes three historical books, three scientific, and one each on law, literature, economics and civilisation. Dr. Barry's brilliant sketch *Papacy and Modern Times* (1303-1870), Mr. Gooch's striking study, *History of Our Time* (1885-1911) and Professor Myres' compendious treatise—*The Dawn of History*—are all valuable contributions to historical literature. Professor J. Arthur Thomson's luminous *Introduction to Science*, Mr. Arthur Hink's lucid expositlon of a most fascinating science—*Astronomy*—and Mr. W. Barrett's compact summary—*Psychical Research*—of a branch of knowledge yet struggling for recognition among the group of sciences, are all well adapted to the end they have in view, namely, to initiate students into the mystries of scientific lore. For the rest, there is no better introduction to the study of the laws of England than Mr. W. Geldart's *Elements of English Law*, or to English literature than Mr. G. Mair's *English Literature: Modern*. To the many valuable treatises on Economics in this series, a notable addition is made by Professor D. H. Macgregor in his *Evolution of Industry*, in which the recent changes in the condition of the working classes are vividly set forth. Last but not least Professor Herbert Giles gives us, in his *Civilisation of China*, a most graphic sketch of the past and present condition of the Chinese, and regard being had to the state of affairs in the Celestial Kingdom, it is certainly most opportune.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE ; MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

IN our last issue we noticed some books on Delhi and the Kutub Minar which were published in connection with the great Durbar. Though it is now nearly two months since that historic event, what might be called " Durbar literature " is still being poured from the presses, the most notable of which are the *Imperial Coronation Durbar* (Vol. I) by Messrs. Khosla Brothers of Lahore and the *Imperial Durbar Album of Indian Princes* (Vol. I), by Mr. Purshotam Vishram Mawjee (Warden Road, Bombay). Both these books are incomplete and a second volume of each may be expected in due course. Each of them, however, is complete so far the subject-matter of the volume is concerned. Both are sumptuous publications, beautifully embellished with a large number of portraits of Indians, notabilities. The scope of Messrs. Khoshla Brothers' publication is the more comprehensive of the two as it contains sketches and portraits of both Indian Chiefs and Indian and Anglo-Indian celebrities, while Mr. Mawjee's book confines itself to the ruling princes only. The sketches in both are well done, though there is some want of proportion in the Lahore publication. But after all such works are to be prized more for their illustrations than sketches, and viewed from this standponit both the books are superb and form most splendid souvenirs of the Durbar. They are sold at various prices, for which reference may be made to the publishers.

Another book which has come into existence in connection with the Royal visit—and which is most profusely illustrated—is published by Mr. G. Claridge, Caxton House, Bombay, and is called *Old and New Bombay*. It gives in a readable style the history of the " First City in India " and may indeed be described as a skilful selection of all that is picturesque in its annals. The story begins with the cessation of Bombay to Charles II, who leased it to the East India Company for £ 10 a year. Then we have "Bombay under the Company," and a chapter on "The Age of Progress," and "Bombay in 1875." There is a brief sketch of the great boom in Bombay in 1865, and its disastrous sequel. Other chapters tell of "Bombay's Great Men," "The Forts about Bombay" and of many other aspects of the city. If another edition be called for, the size should be reduced to more managable dimensions.

A work which deserves sincere praise is Mr. C. Achyuta Menon's *Cochin State Manual*, published by the Cochin Government Press at Ernakulam—the capital of the State. Though designed on the same lines as the district gazetteers of British India, it is more interesting than most of them owing to the evidently greater liberty accorded to the author in his compilation. The work is an encyclopædia and gazatteer of Cochin in one, and any one who would not obtain, by reference to its pages, the information one seeks about that State, must be wanting something very inaccessible indeed. The volume gives the fullest account of almost everything pertaining to Cochin—past and present—and describes the lights and shadows of a wonderful country, unknown except to those familiar with Day's *Land of the Perumals* and Sir Charles Lawson's *British and Native Cochin*. We are glad to find that Mr. Menon's book rises higher than a mere work of reference and reaches the level of literature. We congratulate the author on his work and the enlightened State of which he is such a distinguished officer.

Some years back we noticed a work on India by Mr. Har Bilas Sarda of Ajmere While we commended his industry and research, we regretted not being able to appreciate the spirit in which that book was designed and written. It is, therefore, with all the more pleasure that we turn to his latest work—*Ajmere: Historical and Descriptive*—as we can unreservedly commend it to all lovers of the picturesque in India and to all students of its history. Though intended originally as a guide to that famous city, the work expanded in the hands of the author till it has now grown into a fairly large treatise giving a full, historical sketch of the fortunes of Ajmere as also a comprehensive, topographical account of the city and of its many, wonderful scenes and sights. It is a work displaying considerable industry and what is even more appreciable—a spirit of research. When revising it for a next edition, the author would do well to incorporate the information in and even quote the language of Dr. Furher's *Report of the Archæological Survey* dealing with Ajmere, which is the most picturesque and brilliant sketch known to us. In the meantime we have much pleasure in congratulating Mr. Sarda. The book is beautifully got-up and embellished with twenty-eight most excellent illustrations. In fact the get-up of the book does credit to the resources of the Scottish Mission Industries Company, Ltd., of Ajmere.

An up-to-date grammar of Modern Persian was a *desideratum*. In 1894 the late Mr. Platts published the first part of one dealing with Accidence. Before he could complete it, he died and his work remained unfinished. Fortunately it has just been brought to a sucessful termination by Lieutenant-Colonel Ranking, a distinguished scholar of Persian. In *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, the first part is a carefully revised and enlarged reprint of Mr. Platts, work dealing with Accidence, while the second part by Mr. Ranking deals with Syntax and is the first systematic exposition of the subject in English. The book in its present form is likely to maintain its position for yet a long time to come as the standard grammar in English of the Persian language. We commend its study to all students of the language of Iran. The get-up is excellent as befitting the workmanship of the Clarendum Press, Oxford.

Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras, have just added two more books to their series of useful Indian publications. One is the third part of their well-known series—the *Indian Nation Builders*, the two previous parts of which we have noticed in terms of appreciation. The volume under notice fully maintains in its biographical studies the high standard of the previous ones. The sketches embodied in it are those of Telang, Gandhi, Ajudhianath, Aswini Kumar Dutt, Seshadri Iyer, Bankim Chatterji, the late Nizam, Sir Syed Ahmed, Sir Gooroo Dass Bannerjee, Aravindu Ghose, Dr. Coomaraswamy and Rabindranath Tagore. Altogether a varied and interesting collection of studies of the careers of noted Indians. Another publication of theirs is no less useful, being *Select Essays* by Sister Nivedita. The book was announced by us in a previous issue. Almost all the essays are valuable and deserved a permanent record. Some of them have already appeared in the *Hindustan Review*.

Brahmchari Gonendra Nath has brought out the first of a new series of collected essays of Sister Nivedita, which is described as the "authorised edition." The book under notice is called *Civic and National Ideals* and brings together all the late Sister's essays bearing on these subjects. For those who are desirous to possess a collected edition of Sister Nivedita's essays, this edition will, of course, be *the* thing. It is not stated how may volumes will complete the series, but it is mentioned that the second volume will bring together the essays on Education. The get-up of the book is very neat and the publishers—the Udbodhan Office Baghbazar, Calcutta—are entitled to credit for their workmanship.

Professor Abhay Charan Mukerji's *Matriculation Geography* (National Press Allahabad), though a compilation, is well put together, and the fact that it has passed through no less than four editions in five years, is a striking proof of its usefulness and popularity. Though mainly intended for the students preparing for the matriculation of the Allahabad university, it will be found useful for reference by others also, as it is comprehensive and fairly up-to-date. The recent administrative changes announced by the King-Emperor at the Darbar have, however, rendered the sections dealing with India out of date and must be carefully revised in the next edition which we are sure the book will reach soon.

Mr. A. Govindaraja Mudaliar, Head Master, Pachaiyappa's High School Chidambaram—who published, in 1901, *India's Memorial Tribute to Victoria*—has just brought out another work on the same lines called *India's Memorial Tribute to Edward VII.* It contains reports of the proceedings of various public meetings held in different parts of the country to express the sense of national loss as also extracts from the tributes to the late King-Emperor's memory by the leading organs of Indian and Anglo-Indian public opinion. The usefulness of the book is enhanced by its being enriched with an Introduction by the late Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer. It is dated the 6th November, 1911, and is perhaps the last literary effort of that great and distinguished Indian. The book is neatly got-up.

A cordial welcome to the twelfth edition of the *Cartoons from Hindi Punch*. The publication is too well-known by now to need the reviewer's commendation.

It brings together in a compact and handy form almost all the best cartoons that appear in the course of the year in the *Hindi Punch.* Our esteemed Bombay contemporary is perhaps the only journal of its kind in the Indian Empire, and its cartoonists draw men and incidents with such skill and hit oft contemporary men and measures with such humour, that their handiwork has rightly received approbation even in England and the *Review of Reviews* makes it a point to reproduce some of their cartoons almost every month. The *Hindi Punch* is a journal of which educated Indians may well be proud. We heartily commend this annual to our readers.

Messrs. Natesan & Co. of Madras have added two interesting publications to their stock of useful literature. One is Mr. Saint Nihal Singh's *Glympses of the Orient To-day* and the other Mrs. Saint Nihal Singh's *Improvement of Indian Agriculture.* Both, we believe, are reprints of articles which had appeared in periodicals but they were well worth bringing together. *The Glimpses of the Orient To-day* is a record of the author's ramble through Asia in which he describes the transition in many of the Asiatic countries during the last few decades, traces the causes of the awakening and offers a prophesy as to its ultimate effect. He graphically portrays the modern women of the Orient, and the political, social and industrial life of India, Persia, Japan, China and other Asiatic lands. The book will be of great interest to Indians since the transitional period through which the Orient at present is passing is fraught with meaning to the Oriental and Occidental alike. The book if it falls into the hands of the Indian youth—for whom it is especially designed—will be the means of inspiring him to work for the uplift of his land. Mrs. Singh—who is a very talented and accomplished American lady—in her *Improvement of Indian Agriculture*, draws her lessons from her native land, She utilises, to the advantage of India, her knowledge of the progress of agriculture in the United States. There is in it a large amount of useful information brought together and it deserves close attention at the hands of all interested in Indian agriculture. The get-up of both the books is neat.

A booklet which will be of great interest to all growers of perhaps the most important vegetable in this land is *Potatoe Culture*, by Mr. Probodh Chundra De It gives excellent, practical, hints on the cultivation of potatoes, based on a long experience Its being now in its fourth edition testifies to its worth. Mr. De is also the author of an excellent little *Treatise on Mango.* Both the booklets can be had of Messrs. De and Sons, 28 Beadon Row. Calcutta.

Another collection of Mr. Saint Nihal Singh's essay is called *Making Bad Children Good* and is published by Messrs. Ganesh & Co, of Madras. In this book there is a description by the author of a new and humane system prevailing in the West of treating juvenile offenders, which the Indian Government and the Indian people will do well to consider with a view, if not to direct and detailed imitation, at least to help in determining the direction of future administration. The "Juvenile Court" which is described at length by Mr. Singh was originally evolved in the United States, but it has been adopted by all enlightened nations of the world. In fact, an essential test of the civilisation of a people has come to be how efficiently the nation conducts its Juvenile Court system. Now that India is perfecting herself in institutions adapted from the West, Mr. Singh's book has a high value as a popular exposition of a little-known but very important subject. The book is neatly got-up.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkai ot Amraoti, as General Secretary of the Indian Industrial Conference, has just brought out a very useful book of reference called *A Guide to Modern Machinery for Starting Various Industries.* It gives lists of firms all over the world dealing in machinery, classified under various heads. We have no doubt that all persons interested in Indian industries will find the book highly useful, and we trust it will receive sufficient support to enable the editor to bring out revised editions of it every year, so that its information may be thoroughly up-to-date.

Some years back a brilliant and highly instructive series of papers on "Hindoo Protestantism" appeared in the *Hindustan Review*, from the pen of our very talented contributor, who hides his light under the psuedonym of "Indian Nationalist." They well deserved republication in a handy form, and we are glad that the proprietor of Ram Bhooshan Press, Agra, has supplied the want. We commend the pamphlet to all students of the history of Indian sprituality and also to social reformers.

Commencing with the January, 1912, the price of the *English Review* has been reduced to 1/- net, owing to a great demand on the part of the public for a high class literary review at a popular price. The quality and quantity of the *Review* will in no way be altered, and the standard for which it has become famous will be maintained. The *English Review* is undoubtedly the most literary of all monthlies published in the United Kingdom.

An interesting work is about to be published by Messrs, Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., Ltd., of London, from the pen of the late Mr. Arthur Lillie. The late author who spent many years of his life in India, has written largely on Buddha and the influence of Buddhism on Christianity. The new work is entitled *Rama and Homer* and in it the author seeks to trace out the many remarkable similitudes which exist in the *Illiad* and the *Odyssey*, and the Ramayana, the epic of Hindustan, and is likely to attract considerable attention and arouse much discussion amongst the learned.

Messrs. Macmillan and Co. (London), have just published an illustrated edition of Mr. Percival Lowell's *The Soul of the Far East.* History has been making rapidly in that part of the globe since Mr. Lowell first published these studies of life, literature, art, nature and religion in Japan; but the essential characteristics of the people have changed but little and these intimate studies of them have lost neither charm nor value. Even now it is a standard work on Japan, and we welcome the new edition which has become more attractive owing to its being illustrated. Of the thirty or more illustrations which decorate this edition some are from photographs by the author and others from rare Japanese prints. Altogether it is a most acceptabble edition of a well-known classic. It is in every sense a great book.

Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co. (London), have published in connection with the Thackeray Centenary *Sylhet Thackeray*, by Mr. F. B. Bradley-Birt, whose previous works on Indian subjects are so well known. *Sylhet Thackeray*, the first William Makepeace and grandfather of the novelist, was the first of a long line of Thackerays to seek service in India, being the first

Englishman sent by the East India Company to undertake control of the District of Sylhet. The book gives a charming picture, in Mr. Bradley-Birt's interesting and descriptive style, of life in India in the middle of the 18th century and once for all clears up the mystery which has so long shrouded the famous affair of the elephants, the cause of the fierce dispute between Thackeray and the Company. Among many other members of the Thackeray family connected with India an interesting account is given of Jane Thackeray, who married James Rennell, the famous geographer, who lies buried in Westminster Abbey. The author has received much valuable help from Lady Ritchie and other members of the Thackeray family some of whom have lent the delightful miniatures reproduced. The book is one that should appeal to all who hold the name of Thackeray in reverence.

Messrs. Longman's hope to have ready shortly a new edition in three volumes of *The Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George the Third*, by Sir Thomas Erskine May (Lord Farnborough), edited and continued to 1911. by Mr. Francis Holland. The original work will be contained in the first two volumes ; volume III., which is by Mr. Holland and will be sold separately, carries the narrative from 1860 down to date.

Mr. Murray has in preparation a study of *the Fall of the Mogul Empire*, by Mr. Sidney J. Owen, Reader in Indian History in the University of Oxford, formerly Professor of History in the Elpinstone College, Bombay. The narrative is derived almost entirely from contemporary authorities.

Few men could be so well qualified to write the life of Sir Alfred Lyall as Sir H. Mortimer Durand, who served under him at the Foreign Office, and succeeded him there as Secretary, besides knowing him intimately as a friend. But why should it be, as Reuter says an "official life"? Sir Alfred Lyall was of course for many years an official, but he was very much else besides. It is as a man of letters that his name is familiar to the English public, and no biography could do him justice that did not take account of his marked and fascinating individuality. If the announcement means that Sir Mortimer Durand is merely writing an account of Sir Alfred Lyall's work at the Foreign Office, or in other words of the Indian foreign policy of the period, no doubt he will produce a very interesting work as far as it goes : but such a limitation would be a pity, for a book of that kind may be just enough to keep some one else from attempting a biography proper.

In announcing in our last issue the new edition by Messrs Thacker, Spink & Co., of Calcutta, of that famous, old, Anglo-Indian classic—Captain Atkinson's *Curry and Rice*—we gave an account of the contents of that interesting book, both as to its delightful letterpress and splendid coloured sketches. These latter in the new edition have been beautifully reproduced and the book as a whole, in its get-up, is a work of art and reflects the highest credit on the enterprise of the publishers, in offering to the public an exact copy of the original work. The price is Rs. 18-6-0. No Indian library can be complete without a copy of this book.

IN THE PUBLIC EYE.

LORD CARMICHAEL: THE GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

WE associate ourselves with our contemporaries of the Bengal presidency in offering a cordial welcome to His Excellency Lord Carmichael, as the first Governor of re-united Bengal. He was born in March, 1859, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He took his degree of B. A. in 1881 and M. A. in 1884. Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael—as he then was—was Private Secretary to Sir George Trevelyan and Lord Dalhousie, when they were Secretaries of State for Scotland. He was chairman of Scottish Board of Lunacy from 1894-97, and of the Board of Trustees for the Scottish National Galleries, 1907-1908. He contested unsuccessfully in the parliamentary election of 1892, the constituency of Peebles and Selkirk, and had the unique distinction of succeeding, in 1895, the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone as M. P. for Midlothian, which seat he retained till 1900. Sir Thomas was appointed Governor of Victoria, in 1908. Being a member of the Edinburgh Liberal Club, a farewell banquet was given to him by the members. The toast of the evening was given by no less distinguished a statesman than Lord Rosebery, a former Prime Minister, who made a most felicitous speech on the occasion. In the course of his speech, Lord Rosebery read a letter from the Master of Elibank in which the latter said: "I wish I could have joined in honouring His Excellency this evening. We are lending Australia one of our best and most able and accomplished Scottish gentlemen." Lord Rosebery proceeded to pronounce a glowing panegyric on the work and worth of Sir Thomas and prophesied for him the attainment of even higher distinctions in public life. Lord Rosebery emphasised that Sir Thomas was a great humorist, and so he certainly is. He is besides a naturalist of note and has published various papers on centipedes, spiders, etc. It will, therefore, be seen that by birth, education, and parliamentary and administrative experience, Lord Carmichael is eminently fitted to exercise the onerous duties of the high office to which he has been appointed by our King-Emperor, and all classes of Indians in general and the people of the Bengal presidency in particular, will, no doubt, unite in offering the new Governor a sincere and hearty welcome and in hoping for prosperous and peaceful times under His Excellency's *regime*, which we trust will be marked by sympathy and progress.

Sir Thomas's administration of the colony of Victoria was evidently very successful, to judge from the tribute paid to him, on the eve of his departure, by one of the leading Australian journals—the Melbourne *Argus*—which said: "No departing Governor ever carried away with him from Victoria more general and genuine evidences of popular good-will than will accompany Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael." It is clear from the above that Sir Thomas became very popular in Victoria and earned the esteem and the respect of the people. In the course of a farewell speech there in May last—wihch is a fair sample of his keen sense of humour—Sir Thomas said :

> We have been here all too short a time. It was an astonishment both to my wife and to me when I was asked to go to India. I do not pretend that I did not feel honoured by the proposal, and in some ways I am pleased to be asked to go. It would be affectation to pretend anything else, but I can say that we are genuinely sorry to be leaving a place where we have formed many friendships, and met with unvarying kindness. We have tried to do as well as we could, and if we have done wrong the people have shown their forgiveness by not saying what it was. I have never pretended to be anything else but Scotch—but when I was a boy I used to say that if I were not Scotch I would be Irish (cheers). An Irish boy was once asked of what nationality he would like to be if he were not Irish. He replied—' I should be ashamed to be anything else ' (laughter and applause). However a great many Irish people are not ashamed to be very good Australians. It is one of the best characteristics of the Irish that wherever they go, they are among the best citizens you find.

It was on the 1st of November last that Sir Thomas arrived at Madras as the Governor of the Southern Presidency and though he has been there for now only three months, he has won golden opinions there and his transfer to Calcutta has so much pained the people of Madras that a movement has been actually set on foot to memorialise the Secretary of State for India to advise the King-Emperor to cancel his order. That this should be so is not surprising, when we take into account the noble and liberal sentiments to which Lord Carmichael has given expression, in his replies to the addresses presented to him. In replying to the joint address of welcome from the Municipal Corporation and other bodies, His Excellency said :—

> I claim no special knowledge of your institutions and I am entirely ignorant of the languages spoken in the Presidency and ignorant of many things—ignorance which to you is almost inconceivable, but, of which with the assistance which I hope to receive from you, I hope that I may be able to learn. In the meantime I shall try to console myself with the thought that perhaps that ignorance may free me from prejudice.

Referring to the spirit in which the country should be governed, the new Governor said :—

> While I know there must be wide differences between the Government in the parts where I am famaliar and here, there must be wide differences of form. But I trust the spirit which underlies those forms is the same and that here, no less than in Britain and Australia, all those who take part in Government—whether the smaller branches of Government or more important ones—they are all determined to do what they can to secure that there should be even-handed justice between man and man, and, as far as possible, that every encouragement should be given to our fellow-subjects wherever they are to develop to the full the resources of their own portion of the Empire, to make the fullest use of their abilities and talents in the development of that part. It appears to me that it is only in this way that we can really make the fullest development of the whole, and do honour to our King-Emperor.

A few days later His Excellency was the recipient of three more addresses—from the Muslim League, Mahajana Sabha, and Congress Committee. Sir Thomas again made a joint reply in which he spoke of "the need for co-operation in the cause of progress" at this time. He continued:

> We in Great Britain and you here in India are, I think, indissolubly bound up. It is difficult, no doubt, to foretell the future, but I think that of this we may be certain—that for many years to come at any rate, our histories must be bound together, and that if either of us is to do anything for progress, we must work together. (Cheers). I think we are all agreed that if we are to work together, there must be mutual sympathy between us. Our histories are not the same. It is possible that change does not proceed so quickly here as it does in Europe, and I need hardly say to you who are students of history aud constitutional development that all development must be based on what has happened in the past and must be sharpened by it. Therefore, we may not proceed quite on the same lines. But I do not think there need be any difference in ideals.

His Excellency continued that although possibly there may be some men "misguided as I take them to be, who possibly from motives which they believe to be right, say or do things which would lead others to think otherwise; still I think there can be no doubt that these men are doing nothing for the good either of India or of Great Britain, and I believe there is a readiness in Great Britain to believe and a feeling of certainty that the loyalty of India is intense." With regard to "those most important questions" to which the Madras Provincial Congress Committee had referred, His Excellency said:—

> I can promise you that I will give them my fullest consideration, and I believe that I know enough of your history and enough of your aims to be able to say that that consideration will be based on respect, and that I will certainly have good deal of sympathy with your ideals. The Prince of Arcot said that the time had come when the people were ready to take their proper part in the advancement and administration of this country. Well, I can assure you that I believe that the people of Great Britain will rejoice in that. How that is to be carried out is not for us yet to say. As time goes on there will be changes in ideals. Things may be done which we do not at the present time foresee and cannot foresee. But I do believe and trust that we shall work together for the good of the world.

In addition to the excellent work done by Sir Thomas as Governor of Victoria, during a period of three years, we think the best augury of his success as an Indian governor lies in the fact of his experience as a Liberal member of the British House of Commons, between 1895 and 1900. Thus his liberal culture and varied experience as a practical politican and as an administrator entitle us to hope that His Excellency's *regime* will be characterised by liberality, sympathy and statesmanship. The replies that he has already delivered to the various addressess of welcome presented to him, at Madras, and from which we have quoted, have been quiet, tactful, inviting forbearance for a stranger in a new land, lit up with a light ray of wit, and have for these reasons already gained the public ear. It is evident that he did not spend many years in the House of Commons for nothing.

Though he is not an orator nor is there anything dashing about him or his methods, he is in all things the cultured gentleman who has infinite patience for the shortcomings or misconceptions of less endowed and less fortunate men and women than himself.

A figurehead His Excellency has never been known to be. He finds ample work of a useful nature to fill all his waking hours. His energy is known to be enormous. His faculties have been proved to be both critical and creative, administrative and originative. Any movement with which he has been associated has been a success. The man's natural dignity commands the respect due to his rank, and if he does not enjoy the divine afflatus he certainly possesses luminous insight, and a word of advice from him is worth a whole volume from most other men. Such is the new Governor of Bengal and, in welcoming him to the eastern satrapy, we offer our felicitations to our fellow-countrymen of that presidency on their having got as their ruler, for the next five years, one from whom —regard being had to his pre-eminent qualifications for the high office he has come to fill—much may reasonably be expected which shall be conducive to the public good.

TOPICS OF THE DAY.

The Deeper Significance of the Royal Visit to India—The Constitution of the New Provinces and the Changes Incidental thereto—Indians and Executive Councellorships—The Proposed Territorial Redistribution of British India on Ethnic and Linguistic Bases—The Progress of the Denominational Universities Movement—The Press and the Darbar Honours—Parliamentary Hooliganism and Capacity for Self-government—The Necrology of the Month.

WHEN we wrote last month, His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor was still amongst us and with the memories of the Darbar still fresh, with the grand and splendid entertainments then the order of the day in Calcutta, it was not possible to take into account the deeper significance of the ever-memorable Royal visit to this country. Now, however, that things have fairly settled down once again to their normal condition, it is possible to realize the immense gain which has accrued to the country from the visit of our Emperor and Empress. It is not easy to enumerate all the benefits, nor can all of them be foreseen at present, as the latent potentialities brought into existence will take their own time to come to fruition. But this it may safely be said that the Royal visit has raised, as if it were at a bound, the status of India in the British Empire to that which was rightfully and constitutionally hers—namely, that of an integral unit and joint partner, entitled to share in all the advantages and responsibilities which are the birthright of all subjects of the Crown, wholly irrespective of their caste, creed or colour. Further, we entirely agree with our esteemed Bombay contemporary of the *Indian Social Reformer* that the removal of the capital to Delhi and the revival of its time-honoured name, as well as of that of Patna, in modern political geopraphy, has a deeper meaning than a mere mechanical transference of localities. It certainly "means that British rule is seeking its bases in the ideas and achievements which made India great in the past" and is "a welcome and refreshing sign that the government of a people has a spiritual side to it and is not merely an affair of soulless management." Taking as we do this view, we regard the changes in the capitals of the Indian Empire and of the new province of Behar, as acts of profound wisdom and far-reaching statesmanship, which have opened a new and most promising chapter in the history of modern India. The reconstitution of the three new provinces of Assam, Bengal and Behar and the change of capital, have given almost universal satisfaction, except to those few in Calcutta whose vested interests have been touched. The *Englishman* is still showering fire and brimstone, and the *Statesman* blowing hot and cold from day to day, neither of them presenting an edifying spectacle. Among Indian papers, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* has so much taken to heart the separation of Behar that it has literally run amok and is day after day abusing all and sundry in its most approved and inimitable style. In the meantime, the country has rallied to the standard of Lord Hardinge's Government and the non-official members of the Imperial Council—as the chosen and accepted representatives of British India—did well to inaugurate an influential movement to signalise the successful termination of the Royal visit, by convening public meetings at all the provincial capitals, to give expression to the deep sense of appreciation of the people of the beneficial and beneficent results which it has produced. The movement was enthusiastically taken up and the meetings held in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Patna, Allahabad, Lahore, Nagpur, Karachi and other metropolitan cities, were fully demonstrative of India's deep-seated loyalty to the person and throne of her King-Emperor, ungrudging testimony to which was rightly borne by His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech the other day, in Calcutta, at the Geological and Mining Institute. As a result of the resolutions passed at these meetings and telegraphed to the Viceroy—as also the messages received by him from almost all the leading ruling chiefs—His Excellency has cabled to the Prime Minister the following message from the princes and people of India to the people of the United Kingdom, for submission to His Majesty :—

> The princes and people of India desire to take the opportunity afforded by the conclusion of the Royal visit to convey to the great British nation an expression of their cordial goodwill and fellowship ; also an assurance of their warm attachment to the world-wide Empire of which they form part and with which their destinies are now indissolubly linked. Their Imperial Majesties' visit to India, so happily conceived and so successully completed, has produced a profound and ineffacable impression throughout the country. Their Imperial Majesties, by their gracious demeanour, their unfailing sympathy and the deep solicitude for the welfare of all classes, have drawn closer the bonds that unite Britain and India, and have deepened and intensified the traditional feeling of loyality and devotion to the throne and person of the Sovereign, which has always characterized the Indian people. Conscious of the many blessings which India has derived from her connection with Britain, the princes and people rejoiced to tender in person their loyal and loving homage to their Imperial Majesties. They are confident that this great and historic event marks the beginning of a new era, ensuring greater happiness, prosperity and progress to the people of India, under the ægis of the Crown.

It is not surprising that the above message has been right royally responded to by the British public. It has been rightly recognized that the transmission of such a message from India to Britain is a signal proof of the indissoluable bond which now unites the two countries. That the tie between them has now become firmer, much less brittle and much more flexible such as may bend but never break, is wholly due to the Royal visit, and it were much to be wished that the King-Emperor and his Royal Consort may revisit their Indian Empire, as frequently as circumstances may render it feasible. In any case, the last visit of our Emperor and Empress has been an unprecedented success—even beyond most sanguine expectations. It has brought to us peace, happiness and contentment, for the time being, and has marked an epoch in the history of our country. It has raised India from the status of a servient State to that of a co-ordinate one, as is evidenced from the transmission and acceptance of the message sent on behalf of the princes and people of this country. It now remains for us to follow up the great advantage which has already accrued to us and lead our country to her yet higher destiny.

II.

Steady work is being done in connection with the memorable changes announced by the King-Emperor at the Darbar. Land has been already acquired for the new Delhi not only on the city or western side of the Jumna but also on the eastern side of the river, in the Meerut district of these provinces. Though the Uninted Provinces have had to surrender a considerable slice of land for the purpose—roughly in the form of a semi-circle with the centre at the railway bridge and a five mile radius—it will enable us to boast as our proud privilege that we have got the Imperial capital within our territorial limits, never mind the fact that the land on which the new city will rise will be declared as an Imperial district and will have no connection with any province. That will be a mere legal fiction, and we of these provinces shall, of course, treat it as such. For the rest, as is but right, it has been announced that the Secretary of State will send out the most competent and qualified town-planuing experts, who will lay out the new city on lines which will make it a worthy capital of British-Indian Empire—despite the silly, contributed articles in the *Englishman* trying to make out that Delhi and its neighbourhood are about the very worst spot in God's creation. As to the architecture of the new city we would strongly urge upon the Government the desirability of following the suggestions made on the subject by Mr. E.

B. Havell, in the course of his article published in our last issue, as also in a letter to the *Times* of 22nd December, headed "Imperial Delhi and Indian Art." Mr. Havell's suggestions have already received considerable support both in the British press and that of this country, and it is sincerely to be hoped that both in the building of the new Delhi and the new Patna, the Government would freely utilise Indian architecture for the public buildings, instead of turning out, what they have hitherto done—except in the Panjab—stucco-and-plaster nightmares. This is a subject of great importance to the development of the arts and industries of the country, and we propose to revert to it, at length, in a later issue. Turning to the other announcements it has been declared by the Viceroy, twice in the course of the last few days—both at Calcutta and Dacca—that there will be no changes whatsoever in the boundaries of the new provinces : that the new Assam will be co-extensive with the old Assam as it existed till its incorporation with Eastern Bengal in 1905, that the new Bengal will comprise only the five divisions—two of West Bengal and three of East Bengal—and that the new Behar will comprise the rest of the territories in the old Lower Provinces. It is all for the best that such a declaration should have been made by the head of the Government, in the absence of which agitation in the press and on the platform, on the part of a section of the Bengalees but too anxious to grab as much as possible of the adjoining tracts of the neighbouring provinces, might have been carried to undesirable lengths, thereby producing acerbity of feeling between the Bengalees and the Beharees. It has further been announced that Sir Archdale Earle will be the first Chief Commissioner of Assam, Lord Carmichael the first Governor of Bengal and Sir Charles Bayley the first Lieutenant-Governor of Behar. All these are unexceptionable appointments, but public feeling is very sore in the southern presidency at the rather sudden transference of her Governor to Calcutta and in view of a suggestion in the *Pioneer* that a Civilian Lieutenant-Governor, on the eve of retirement, might make an almost ideal Governor there, the citizens of Madras have held a public meeting denouncing it and praying for a Governor being sent out from Britain. Public feeling in Madras is evidently very strong on the subject and for the nonce the Anglo-Indian and the Indian papers have merged their differences and are unanimous in condemning the *Pioneer's* suggestion. The cadres between Bengal and Behar are also being worked out and will shortly be published, great difficulty being experienced in settling the details owing to the anxiety of almost every officer—Indian or Anglo-Indian—to serve in Behar and give unhealthy Bengal the cold shoulder. Mr. Le Mesurier—an old Behar official—will revert to the new province, from East Bengal, as the Chief Secrctary to the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Kershaw will be Financial Secretary and Mr. Morshead, the Inspector-General of Police. The Bengal Board of Revenue will finally pass away on the 31st March, when the solitary number left will be dis-established—so will also, of course,the Board of Eastern Bengal. The work done hitherto by the two boards will be taken up by the members of the executive councils of Bengal and Behar. The question now agitating Behar and Bengal is that of a separate High Court for the new Province, the Bengalees opposing it tooth and nail and the Beharees pressing the demand for it with all the fervour of a new-born enthusiasm. Our belief is that it is but a question of time and that it will not be long before a High Court will be constituted at Patna, the capital of the new Province. Nothing can prevent it, as nothing could the separation of Behar itself. It will not appeal, of course, to Calcutta, any more than does the constitution of Behar as a self-contained province, but that is not the test. As the *Pioneer* puts it: "The Government by bringing the new Province into existence with the advanced organization of a Lieutenant-Governor in Council has encouraged the idea that all its mechanism will be up-to-date, and the inference is that if Behar expresses a desire for a High Court, it will get that". And as Behar is absolutely unanimous in demanding a High Court, it goes without saying that it will have it at an early date and a separate University will follow in due course. As to the name for the new province—about which there have been much foolish scribbling and many silly suggestions in the papers—we quote below the caustic comments of the *Times of India* :—

> We occasionally come across some unhappy results of endeavouring to combine English and Indian words in nomenclature, but never was anything in that line so painful as the suggestions which sundry correspondents are uttering in the columns of a mofussil contemporary, for a new name for the province of Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa. One of the least terrible is Beharistan, but what of Bechnaor and Orisnagbhar? One writer, who has the temerity to put his name to his letter, thinks Nag-oriss-har or Nag-bharissa would be suitable and at the same time "easy of pronunciation." Someone else proposes "The Eastern Provinces of Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa." How many of these were perpetrated by Indians there are no means of telling, but some of them at any rate came from Englishmen, and we can only regard them as instances of the evil results of taking risks with a tropical sun. If these are the names for a small new province, we suppose that something with at least seven syllables may be expected for the imperial capital.

The name of the new province is there—Behar and Orissa, on the analogy of these provinces which are called Agra and Oudh. In common parlance it will be known as Behar, just as the now defunct Lower Provinces were known as "Bengal," even after the partition, when Behar had become the predominant partner, both in area and population. The United Provinces of Behar and Orissa will not be more disunited than the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, but just as for the sake of convenience these provinces are designated by their English name, so the new province will rightly be known by its ancient, classical and historic appellation of Behar.

III.

Before long the Secretary of State will have to submit to the Emperor several names for appointment as executive councillors. The present executive members of the Lower Provinces Government will have to retire on the establishment of the presidency of Bengal and though they can be re-appointed, it is said that the Hon'ble Raja Kishorilal Goswami will not seek re-appointment and that the "third member" will thus have to be a new man. Then there will be three executive members appointed to the new Behar Council, and later another three to the United Provinces Council, for it may be taken as settled that the new Lieutenant-Governor of these provinces will start with an executive council. And then there is the question of the appointment of a successor to the late Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer, in Madras. So far as the question of the appointment of the two civilian members is concerned, there cannot be much difficulty, which really surrounds the appointment of the third member. It is now commonly understood that this third member is always to be an Indian and a non-official. Constitutionally there is, of course, no warrant for any such view. At the same time the popular view is correct to all intents and purposes. It is, however, "carrying the joke too far" to suggest—as has been done by a Calcutta public association—that in Bengal the third member should be alternately a Hindu and a Mussalman, in view of the fact that in the new Bengal, both these communities will be numerically equally-balanced! A proposal to the same or similar effect had been pressed upon Lord Morley by Mussalman leaders, but both his lordship and Lord Minto set their face against it and told them frankly that the thing was on the face of it absurd and impracticable. Lords Morley and Minto declared in no uncertain voice that though communal representation might, in our present condition, be tolerated in legislative councils, no such principle could be applied to the executive councils, which are instruments for the governance of the country and not for providing opportunities for the representation on that body for any race, community, school or class, or for conciliating any party. The *Madras Mail* would not admit even the possibility of the third membership being earmarked for an Indian—let alone for Hindu or Mussalman. It says :—

> We observe with astonishment that in some quarters there are references to "the Indian Member." There cannot logically be any such personage, for the executive council is not a representative body. Even Lord Morley, who was apt to be the victim of some confusion of thought on these matters, never said anything that could reasonably be interpreted as sanctioning the creation of an "Indian Membership." Long before him, the executive council had been theoretically open to Indians. What he did was to remove practically barriers which had no theoretical justification. In doing so, however, he modified the qualifications demanded for the position, so far as they referred to service under the Crown in India. In other words, he made a non-official eligible. In itself this change in the qualifications appeared indefensible at the time, though the circumstance that otherwise it would have been difficult to find Indians for the position gave it some plausibility. The change, however, was made, and it would serve no purpose to argue the case against it now. What we should like to point out is that it amounted merely to a permitting clause. Mr. Krishnasawmy Iyer's successor need not be, therefore, either an Indian or a non-official.

The above view is certainly sound, though the *Mail* itself admits that as a matter of practice the third membership will usually go to an Indian. That being so, it becomes highly important, for the public interested, to see that men of requisite qualifications are appointed—which it cannot be said has been invariably so far the case. The *Madras Mail* lays particular stress on administrative experience in the third member, and if this view be correct—which it is not, in our opinion—it will exclude all, except Indian officials, either of the Indian or the Provincial Civil Service. But that is exactly the class from which the other two councillors have to be appointed and so about the only difference between them and the third member will be that—as a rule—they will be Anglo-Indians and the third member an Indian—all three being sun-dried bureaucrats all the same. This could hardly have been contemplated when the innovation was made, as for all practical purposes it would make but little difference in the constitution of the council, if the third member also happens to be one saturated with official views and sentiments. The main object, as we take it, was to bring into the arcana of government such Indians as by their capacity and character are fully qualified—like the late Mr. Krishnaswamy, for instance—to present the Indian view of public questions and thus to bring into play a fresh stand-point in the discussion and decision of great political issues. This aspect of the case has been very ably set forth by the *Leader* in the following passage : —

> The *Madras Mail* in stating what it believes to be the considerations that should weigh with those who have the appointment in their gift, attaches great importance to administrative experience and seeks to establish that activity in public life as distinguished from the public service is if anything a disqualification. We must dissent from this view. The Executive Council is more like the Cabinet, and its members are called upon to perform duties analogous to those of Cabinet Ministers. While Secretaries to Government and members of the Board of Revenue should be experienced permanent officials, the members of Government should be chiefly drawn from public life. Ordinarily it is on this principle that Governors are appointed. Before he went to Australia, what administrative experience had Lord Carmichael himself? What administrative experience was possessed by Lord Ampthill or the late Lord Wenlock? Or Lord Northcote or Lord Sandhurst? Or, Lord Elgin or Lord Curzon? What administrative experience had Mr. Asquith when he was appointed Home Secretary, Mr. Lloyd George when he took charge of the Board of Trade, or Lord Haldane when he became War Secretary, or Lord (then Mr. John) Morley when he was translated from the editorial chair of the *Pall Mall Gazette* to the very arduous office of Chief Secretary for Ireland. With what administrative experience behind them did the late Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill go to the India Office as Secretary of State? Active and intelligent participation in public affairs is the best qualification for a member of the Executive Council. The two Civilian members of the Government contribute their knowledge of administrative details while the Governor brings to bear in the consideration of subjects his liberal political outlook derived from contact with British public and parliamentary life. Obviously the Indian member is wanted to represent the point of view of the Indian people, and this will be best done by a leader of public life and not by a sun-dried bureaucrat though he may happen to wear an Indian skin. When Mr. Lloyd George was placed at the Board of Trade by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Balfour sneered at the appointment. But after two years the *Times* had to admit that he was the ablest President of the Board of Trade of this generation. The late lamented Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer had not spent a day in any office when he was called to the Executive Council in January, 1911, but what had Sir Murray Hammick and the Hon. Mr. Atkinson, his colleagues, to say at the meeting held on Tuesday last week about the manner in which he performed his duties. We contend with all the energy of conviction, that the Indian member should be drawn from the ranks af public men, judges of the High Court who had been non-officials and in public life not being excluded.

We think that the above is a conclusive answer to the objections of the *Madras Mail*, and we hope that the Secretary of State in making the recommendations to the Emperor will be guided by the example of the happy choice in the matter of the appointment of Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer and not by that of the Maharaja of Bobbili. The argument becomes even more impressive in the case of the appointment of the third member in provinces ruled by Lieutenant-Governors, the reason for it is very well put by the *Leader* as follows:—

> The considerations that we have been urging in regard to the appointment of the late Hon. Mr Krishnaswami Iyer's successor in the Madras Executive Council, apply with equal force to the appointment of the Indian member of the Behar Executive Council, when it is established as it soon will be. In Madras the Governor is ordinarily, and we hope the next Governor will be, a statesman form England, whereas Behar is to be ruled by a Civilian Lieutenant-Governor. Thus, as against two Civilians in the Madras Government there will be three in the Government of Behar. This renders it the more essential that the Indian member in Behar should be a public man thoroughly alive to the needs of new India and fully in touch with the sentiments of the Indian people. We do not think that any territorial magnate, however many the acres he owns, can satisfy this condition, and it is to be hoped that the experiment tried in Madras when the Maharaja of Bobbili was appointed will not be repeated in Behar. It is foredoomed to failure. Nor is there reason why it should be, for Behar can boast of men who are or have been in public life and whose appointment will be a greater success than that of any number of titled noblemen whose only recommendations are their wealth and their reactionary sympathies.

The above represents the view of the most thoughtful sections of the people of this country, and it is sincerely to be hoped that in making the recommendations for the appoinment of the third members of our provincial executive councils, the Secretary of State and the Government of India, on whose information he is to act, will keep these important considerations in view, otherwise Behar—and the United Provinces when their turn comes—will see but the repetition of the now famous Bobbili episode.

IV.

The reconstitution of the provinces of Assam, Bengal and Behar on more or less ethnic and linguistic bases has naturally led to a discussion in the press of the question of the territorial redistribution of our other provinces based on the same or similar grounds. The *Deshabhimani*—an Anglo-Telugu journal—has been strenuously urging the claims of the "Andhras," *i.e.*, the Telugus, to a separate, self-contained government. "Taking all sides of the question into consideration," it writes, "one cannot but feel that the Andhras, who are over twenty millions in number, should have a separate province under a Governor." We do not know if in the twenty millions our contemporary includes the large Telugu population in the Hyderabad State, which must necessarily remain out of our consideration. Similarly, the *Mahratta* has been putting in a plea for the amalgamation under one government of all the Mahrattas in British India—leaving aside, of course, the large Mahratta population in the Nizam's dominions. "The Mahratti-speaking population are partitioned", it writes "under two administrations—that of Bombay and the Central Provinces and Berar. This separate allocation of Maharashtra possesses the same drawbacks to its solidarity as the partition brought about in the case of Bengal." It then goes on to suggest how the grievance can be remedied, but with that we are not concerned here, our object being to take note of the existing desire in most parts of the country for a territorial redistribution based on ethnic and linguistic unity. In North-West India even a keener controversy has been going on in the press of the Panjab and Sindh, in regard to the suggested amalgamation of the latter with the former. The suggestion, though a very old one, has recently been revived by the *Tribune* and supported by the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette.* It has been strongly condemned by the *Times of India* and the *Sindh Gazette* and almost all the papers of the Panjab and Sindh have been full of it, of late. In fact a regular press campaign has been waged by the contending parties. We propose to discuss in a later issue the details of the changes suggested but shall content ourselves with noting here the principle underlying the discussion, which is well brought out in the following extract from a leading article in the *Times of India* :—

> Take the Bombay Presidency, for example. The young British officer is on arrival posted, say, to a Karnatic district. He employes a *Munshi* and takes considerable pains to learn Kanarese. As he is getting familiar with the characters and the sounds of this particular vernacular, he is perhaps transferred to a Gujrat district to act for some officer who has taken, it may be, six months' furlough. He goes to Gujraat, and as he is to remain there only for a few months, does not care to begin the study of Gujarathi which is entirely different in structure and idiom from Kanarese. In the meantime he forgets what he had learnt of the latter language On the expiry of the six months, he is very likely assigned to a Deccan district where the language spoken is neither Gujarathi nor Kanarese, but Marathi. Frequent transfers to places where different vernaculars are spoken are a very strong impediment in the way of acquiring a working knowledge of any one of them, let alone a scholarly mastery of its literature and history. The exigencies of the Service require such transfers, though of late years every endeavour has been made to reduce them to a minimum. More than the actual transfers, the feeling that a man may be called upon at any moment to serve in a district where some other language may be spoken, acts as a check on the linguistic aspirations of the average official. A few determined men succeed in overcoming the feeling, but for the majority it

serves as a sufficient excuse to avoid an uninteresting task. The constitution of the Bengal Presidency from this point of view is an interesting experiment. It is devised on a purely linguistic basis. In all the districts of the new Presidency the Bengali language alone is spoken. The disadvantage pointed out above will not exist in the case of officers serving in Bengal. They will have to learn only one language which will serve them during their whole official career.

There is considerable force in the arguments set forth above and they constitute a powerful plea for the reconstitution of our provinces on ethnic and linguistic bases, so far as it may be feasible. Wrote the late Sir John Strachey, the greatest Anglo-Indian official of the last century:—"A glance at the map of India will show that the political limits of the provinces have little connection with any physical characteristics. They have been fixed from, time to time, as the British power advanced or as the necessities of the moment required." On the same subject Sir Bampfylde Fuller writes in his *Indian Life and Sentiment*:—"The nearest approach to a national sentiment in India is that which springs from language. It would have been well for the country had its division into provinces, for proposes of Government, followed the lines marked by race and language so as to reinforce the sympathy which arises from similarity, by feelings of pride in the local government. The existing administrative divisions are so heterogenous as to have a directly contrary effect. Provinces were formed as chance befell of areas unassorted." And Lord Curzon's Government, in a despatch to the Secretary of State, dated the 3rd December, 1902, wrote that "the question of territorial and administrative redistribution in India is, indeed, in our judgment, one of the most urgent and vital of the many problems for which we are at present endeavouring to find a solution." Lord Hardinge's Government may well address themselves to this task, the details of which we propose to discuss in a later issue.

V.

After "lying low" for a couple of months, due to the overshadowing by the Royal visit, the denominational universities movement has again been occupying public attention. An influential and representative meeting of the Hindus of Calcutta was held the other day under the presidentship of His Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh of Bikanir. The Maharaja delivered a long, inaugural address which, though traversing the by now familiar ground, was none the less a successful performance. Large and handsome donations—including one of nearly four lakhs by the Maharaja himself—were announced at this meeting. Another important meeting has been held at Benares, which was presided over by His Highness Maharaja Sir Prabhu Narayan Singh, whose speech in support of the movement was read out by his son. The Maharaja of Benares offered a donation of one lakh, besides the free gift of lands required for the purpose. It has been announced that the donations already promised to the Hindu university now total up to nearly fifty-five lakhs—how much of it, however, has been actually realised is not yet known to us. As regards the Muhammadan university His Highness the Agha Khan has addressed an appeal to the papers and also addressed the other day an influential gathering of the Mussalmans of Bombay on the subject. From the letter and the address it may be inferred that the scheme of the Muhammadan university is much more advanced and much nearer fruition than that of the Hindu university. The constitution of the Muhammadan university is practically settled, *i. e.*, agreed to by the Mussalman leaders and accepted by the Government. The constitution of the Hindu university is yet, we understand, in a process of incubation, and it is difficult to say when and in what shape or form it will emerge from the process. The fact that in the composition of the deputation that waited upon the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler at Delhi and also in the committee appointed to frame the constitution, the orthodox Hindoos bulk largely, is by no means re-assuring to those who are anxious that the Hindu university should be constituted on liberal and progressive and not on those time-worm, fossilised lines which have been the standing cause of the decay, degeneration and deterioration of the Hindus. It is to be hoped that the reform party will have no cause for dissatisfaction and complaint when the constitution is published. Fortunately the Mussalman community is quite free from such vast divergences as those that unfortunetly divide the orthodox and the unorthodox Hindus. The present position of their university movement is well and happily put by their great leader, the Agha Khan, in his letter to the press, which we have much pleasure in reproducing : —

Will you allow me through your paper to put briefly before the Mussalmans, the work done so far in connection with the Moslem University, and what remains still to be accomplished. I had originally proposed that we should collect a crore of rupees, and in my opinion no great university worth the name would need less than that sum. However, to make a modest beginning I appealed to my brother Moslems for a sum of twenty lakhs. But when the members of the Constitution Committee under the presidentship of my friend the Hon. Raja Saheb of Muhammdabad met the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler and other Government officials at Simla, and went carefully through details, they came to the conclusion that we would need at least 35 lakhs. The work was kept up throughout the whole year and the promises up to now amount to 37 lakhs, out of which 26 lakhs have been collected, and 11 lakhs are still outstanding. Many parts of India still remain to be worked up, and I have no doubt that with persistent efforts we shall easily reach the total of half a crore What I beg of my co-religionists is that they should now see to the immediate realization of the promises. Most of the bigger donations from the generous ruling princes have already come in. Smaller donations must be realized immediately, and if our workers in all parts of India put it plainly to the subscribers how much depends on each donor, I feel sure they will willingly make the necessary sacrifices. The Hon. Sir Harconrt Butler, who has great sympathies with us and our great scheme went out of his way to announce in his speech in Hindustani at Delhi : "Show us 35 lakhs and take your university." I firmly believe that we would have collected this sum by this time, if it was not that our attentions were distracted owing to the very unfortunate happenings in Tripoli and Persia. I appeal to my co-religionists in all parts of India to make the slight effort that is needed now. We shall shortly be approaching the Government to request it, after final consultation with our Constitution Committee, to pass the Moslem University Act at the Calcutta sessions, but, before we do so, we must realize another 9 lakhs. I should like to remind my people that we have other important work to look to. When we have got the funds, we have got to build up our University. We shall shortly have to send out to study in Europe some of our best and brilliant students, so that, on their return, they can take up the lecturing work along with European professors. We have also to design and build our lecture rooms, students, and staff quarters and other necessary buildings. We cannot start and work unless we have collected the 9 lakhs, and I have every hope that within a fortnight we shall do so. In the end, I take this opportunity of expressing my entire agreement with all that H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir said at Calcutta. We Mussalmans are thankful to His Highness for his sympathies and heartily wish success to the Hindu University scheme, and pray to God that both these great Universities may come into existence soon to build a glorious future for our mother country India.

VI.

In our December issue we wrote at great length about the grievances of the press representatives invited to the Delhi Darbar. Our remarks were reproduced with approval by many of the leading Indian journals, and our esteemed contemporary of the *Leader*, in doing so, wrote as follows :—"The criticisms of the *Hindustan Review* on the invitations to Indian press representatives issued by the Coronation Darbar Committee and the treatment of the guests invited, which we reprint, leave nothing unsaid which ought to be said, nor do they give expression to any opinion which is not shared by all Indian publicists." As a result of the agitation vigourously carried on by our contemporaries—and in which, though "uninvited," the *Hindustan Review* took its share—the Darbar Committee climbed down and having reconsidered the question of the payment of the travelling expenses of the press representatives, decided to pay the same. This was well enough, so far as it went, to remove a legitimate complaint and to uphold the precedents created at previous Darbars, and the Indian press may well be proud of their success. But the fact remains that though in this particular matter they scored against the Darbar Committee, their treatment in many other respects was far from enviable. Racial distinctions which are the curse of this country were not quite absent at Delhi, but perhaps they were most marked in the distinction made in several respects between the European and the Indian press representatives. The representative of the *Leader*. writing in its issue of 16th December, had the following remarks on the subject :—

> Distinctions between the European and Indian representatives in the press camp are visible at almost every step. The accommodation of the press representatives at the Darbar amphitheatre could not have been more unsatisfactory, they being allotted seats from which only the roof of the shamiana was visible and all having had to bask in the sun-shine for nearly six hours, with hunger in addition. They came out of the amphitheatre only to find their conveyances unfindable, if I may use this expressive word. Immense was the discomfort felt thereby. On every single occasion, arrangements for the making of carriages have been found to be so very seriously defective that visitors at functions find their miseries begin at the end, when they miss their conveyances, These arrrangements reflect very little credit on the police concerned. They were much less defective in 1903.

The officer in charge of the Indian press camp, no doubt, did his best under the circumstances, but we have reasons to believe that almost all the Indian pressmen complained of disabilities. And now the difference has once again become marked by the treatment meted out by the Government to the officers in charge of the two press camps. If the services of Mr. C. E. Bayley—the officer-in-charge of the European press camp—may be said, in the words of the *Pioneer* "to have been rendered to the public at large," so can be said of that of Dr. Alma Latifi, C. S., the officer-in-charge of the Indian press camp. And yet while the former has been decorated, the latter's services have been completely ignored ! The distinction made is too invidious to escape notice. And while on this subject, we would like to express our sense of disappointment at both the Anglo-Indian and the Indian press having been completely passed over in the matter of the distribution of titles and decorations bestowed in the Darbar Honours. Except Mr. Lawson, the editor of the *Madras Mail*, who has been decorated with a C. I. E. in his capacity as sheriff of Madras, not one single journalist in this country has been "honoured," by any mark of Government's favour. Who can after this impeach the august impartiality of the Government of India, so far as the press of this country is concerned ? And while so useful a body of workers in public cause as pressmen have been absolutely ignored, the long Honours list issued on the Darbar day abounds with the names of officials. We did not touch upon this subject last month as there was an impression that, before His Majesty would leave Calcutta, an additional list would be published, in which the journalists would figure! Well, this additional list is come and gone and the poor publicists stand exactly where they did. And how have the officials and noblemen fared in the Honours lists ? They have had —to translate a Hindustani phrase—all their five fingers in the *ghee.* Not only journalists but all other classes of non-officials have received scant attention, while the only classes pampered and petted have been the officials and such non-officials as are more official than officials. All these have, of course, duly and unduly come in for their share. There have been no end of knights and companions amongst them. Mr. A. has been "knighted," Mr. B. has been "entitled" and Mr. C. has been "companioned." In fact, so far as these classes are concerned, it has been a case of "I am knighted," "thou art knighted," "he is knighted." Long may they all live to enjoy their well-earned titles, decorations and distinctions!

VII.

Last year when a scene of unparallelled vehemence and excitement took place in the British House of Commons, of which the Prime Minister was the chief victim, we referred to it at some length to emphasise the fact that human nature all the world over being what it is, an occasional out-burst even in the most dignified assemblies, should not be held to constitute a people's unfitness for self-government, such as had been suggested by some "friends of India," in connection with the disturbances at the Surat session of the Indian National Congress, in 1907. In support of the same view we make no apology for reproducing at length the following telegram from Sidney, detailing how the parliament of New South Wales closed for Christmas on the 18th December last, amid a scene of considerable rowdyism, the Speaker having got to bolt for his room which he apparently only just reached in time to escape assault from the excited legislators. And yet no Anglo-Indian journal has dared to suggest that the New South Welshmen have proved themselves unfit for parliamentary government thereby, Such theories are trotted out only when it is considered necessary to put a spoke in the wheel of Indian progress. Here is the telegraphic account :—

Amidst a pandemonium of shouting and interjections, a great number of questions on all manner of subjects were hurled across the Chamber, and confusedly answered by Ministers. Another factor tending to the disorganisation of the proceedings arose from the fact that nearly every member was in possession of a petition relating to the early closing of liquor bars to be presented. A dozen members at a time would rise, and beseech the Speaker (Mr. Willis) to receive his document. Finally, the necessary formal business was got out of the way, and the Premier (Mr. M'Gowen) rose to deliver the time-honoured valedictory remarks. The relations between parties and with respect to the senior officer of the House during the session had been such that Mr. M'Gowen omitted the usual pleasant references to his opponents and the Speaker, which ordinarily characterise such speeches. Mr. Wade, on behalf of the Opposition, endorsed Mr. M'Gowen's eulogy of the permanent officers of the House, and was proceeding to refer to the indignities which the Opposition had suffered during the session at the hands of the Speaker. The Speaker called Mr. Wade to order. Mr. Wade repeated his protests, when the Speaker threatened to remove him if he continued to be disorderly. Mr. Wade then walked out of the chamber. There was no motion before the House, and the Speaker, amidst noise and confusion said, "The House is now adjourned," stepped down, and hurried out. A score of Opposition members immediately jumped to their feet, and amid a tumult of jeers, hoots and ironical cheers, raced after the retreating Speaker and Mr. Wade. The charge certainly gave Ministerial members reason to believe that mischief was intended. A counter-rush set out from the packed Ministerial benches, each member vociferating at the top of his voice. The din was unprecedented. In the precincts howls of "Oh, you bottle-ohs !" "You cowards !" hoots, groans, cheers, and yells of derisive laughter produced an indescribable babel. The speaker managed to reach his room in safety, and he was safely within closed doors when a torrent of excited pressmen and strangers from the gallery poured along the corridors to the entrances to the lobby behind the Speaker's chair. There they found several groups of political opponents making frantic efforts to fight, and others attempting to quell the disturbance. The officers of the House mingled in the crush, and a score or two of strangers aud pressmen rushed into the surging and howling mass. A group of extremists had gathered before the Speaker's door, brandishing their fists, hooting, and yelling. For the time it seemed that no human agency could possibly prevent a free fight. Mr. Wade, who had gone to his room, descended the stairs hurriedly and called out to his followers, "Don't do that." Finding that a voice was utterly inaudible, he retired promptly from the disgraceful scene. The efforts of the Parliamentary attendants finally thinned out the mass of belligerents, and matters became quieter. The usual festivities which take place at the close of the session were, of course, dispensed with and the House dissembled—much in the same way as it had assembled—in disorderly confusion and bitterness of spirit.

A leading Australian paper thus comments on the above :—

Parliament closed its proceedings without the slightest pretence of decorum, and even Mr. Willis's flimsy veil of spurious dignity was thrown aside. The

Speaker ended the final sitting of the House by crying that it was adjourned, and hurrying out of his chair and out of the chamber. He scuttled to his room, chased by a mob of shouting, hooting legislators ; and whether he locked the door or not, he prudently shut it in their faces. There were "frantic efforts to fight," ending without bloodshed after the usual manner of Parliamentary combat, and "bottle-oh" and "coward" were among the printable epithets flung about in the lobby, where the Ministerial and Opposition parties collided "See me in my room," was the flippant formula with which he often replied to questions on his rulings in the House, and it seemed in the last few minutes of the session as if the Oppoition party had decided to accept the invitation *en bloc.* He did not want to be seen in his room, however, and scuttled off as quickly as his legs would carry him. Viewed in the serious aspect, it was a disgraceful ending to a disgraeful session. Huckestering and dodging, defiance and insult, ludicrous tyranny and ludicrous revolt have been the features of politics in New South Wales for months past and the original responsibility lies with the Ministry and the Caucus ; which took the first step in the dishonour of Parlimentary offices. Dissolution of this House of wild men should have been accomplished long ago. No Parlimentary work of any value can be achieved by an Assembly in such general insanity of temper, and if this House is ever summoned again, it is to be hoped that it will meet only to be dissolved.

VIII.

The necrology of the month includes Sir Lewis Jenkins, the Home Member of the Government of India, Rai Bahadur Lal Chand, a great Hindu leader of the Panjab, Rai Bahadur Gokal Chand and the Duke of Fife. The premature death of Sir Lewis is a great loss to the Government of which he was known to be the strong man. He was certainly an uncommonly able man and though he had a rough exterior, there can be no doubt that he carried a loving and sympathetic heart, fully responsive to the aspirations of the people among whom his lot was cast for over thirty years. It is understood that he had a powerful voice in the memorable scheme announced by the King-Emperor at Delhi and that it was to his initiation that we owe, in the destpach of August last, the promulgation of the principle of provincial autonomy as the object in view. If so, his loss to the people of this country is as great as that to the Government he so faithfully served. Rai Bahadur Lal Chand was for many years the leader of the Lahore Bar and even acted with conspicuous success as a Judge of the Panjab Chief Court. His forensic ability and legal acumen were of an exceptionally high order. It is to be noted that he had served his apprenticeship as a lawyer in the Allahabad High Court early in the eighties of the last century. He was, ever since he settled down at Lahore a tower of strength to the Arya Samaj and was intimately connected with almost all the institutions it has founded in that city. At the same time he did not belong to that fortunately small but fanatical section in the Samaj who repudiate the name Hindu. On the contrary, he was mainly instrumental in founding the Punjab Hindu Association and the Conference, over which he presided last year. Altogether his death has left a void in the ranks of Hindu leaders in the Panjab which it will take long to be filled. Rai Bahadur Gokal Chand was a leading citizen of Fyzabad and for a long series of years did useful service to his town. He was a supporter of public movements in these provinces and his genial personality and kindly presence will long be missed amongst us.

We are deeply grieved to record the death of his Grace the Duke of Fife, a brother-in-law of his Majesty the King-Emperor's. The late Duke married in 1889, at the age of 40, her Royal Highness Princess Louise Victoria Alexandra Dagmar, eldest daughter of his late Majesty King Edward VII, who was then 22 years old. The late Duke of Fife was born in November 1849. He sat in the House of Commons as Liberal member for Moray and Nairn, from 1874 to 1879. He was sent on a special mission to the King of Saxony in 1882 and was Lord-Lieutenant of Elgin from 1872 to 1902. He was one of the founders and for nine years Vice-President of the Chartered Company of South Africa. It is a great misfortune that has befallen the Princess Royal and her daughters, and Queen Alexandra and King George, and the sincerest and deepest sympathy will be respectfully offered to her Royal Highness, their Highnesses and their Majesties from every nook and corner of the world-wide British Empire. It is very sad that the arrival of the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress in England after their historic voyage to our country should be clouded by so severe a calamity, and India's sympathy for them will be the more on this account. All of his Majesty's loyal subjects are partakers of all his sorrows and joys, and the special tie of affection which binds our Emperor to his Indian people accentuates their sorrow a hundredfold. Special sympathy will be felt for the lonely and serene Queen Alexandra in her fresh misfortune.

THE OPEN FORUM : CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS & COMMENTS.

"The Poverty of India."

UNDER the heading "The Poverty of India", in the *Hindustan Review*, Vol. XXIV, Mr. K. C. Kanji Lal, B. L., in his paper states that India has been "converted" into a land of famines and scarcities. I hope he will excuse my stating that it appears to me that he has not studied the history of India of the earlier days. What are the preventions of famine ? Easy communications and canals. Who made them ? England's endeavour has been to try and improve the condition of India's people. Unprejudiced people will recognize that her endeavour has not been altogether futile. I would ask the writer to read Mr. S M. Mitra's paper on famines in his book *Indian Problems.*

E. C. ELLISTON (*Lt.-Colonel*).

The Architecture of New Delhi.

Turning to the question of the inclusion of the Indian element in the architecture of the new city of Delhi wecannot do better than quote a short passage from the pen of Mr. E. B. Havell in the current issue of the *Hindustan Review.* In this he succinctly explains the living Indian architecture of to-day which many people declare to be dead. "All authorities," he writes, "agree that in times gone by, Indian builders have done great things. Even those who depreciate Indian sculpture, painting and music will generally admit the genius of the Indian architect. But it is a part of those erroneous and prejudiced views of Indian art which are so commonly held, both by Anglo-Indians and educated Indians, to give most credit for the triumphs of the Indian master-builder to the Moguls. Centuries before the Moguls came to India, Hindustan was famous for her master-builders ; and if Europeans can see only in Mogul buildings the greatest work of the Indian architect, it is only because Muhammadan or Saracenic architecture ideals approximate more closely to the architectural forms of the Italian Renaissance than does the religious architecture of the Hindus It was to the broad mindedness and statesmanship of Akbar in attracting to his Court all the skilled master-builders of Hindustan that the greatness of Mogul architecture was due. The Mogul buildings themselves give the clearest proof of this for the finest of them are better than any that the Muhammadans built in any other country and they all contain some constructional principle or architcetural feature which essentially belongs to Hindu art" The argument in favour of the Mogul element in new Delhi is unlikely to be unfavourably looked upon and the announcement as to who is to be responsible for the planning of the city will be awaited with interest. It would be a lasting regret if the brilliant page the past few months have formed in the history of India were marred by a capital that failed to represent all the best of this great British Dependency.—*The Advocate of India*.

The Hindustan Review.

The Durbar number of the *Hindustan Review* is a volume well worth reading.—The *Review of Reviews.*

The December number of the *Hindustan Review*, which is a Durbar number, contains several able articles of varied interest ; besides, it gives us nearly 150 pages of readable matter under the several headings. "The Literary Supplement," "Topics of the Day," "Men in the Public Eye" and "Bird's-eye views of Calcutta and Delhi." The *Hindustan Review* is generally a mine of information on Indian questions which it discusses from such an independent standpoint and sanity of judgment that it is welcomed by the people and the Government alike.—*The Wednesday Review.*

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THE DIFFICULTIES OF INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY.

By Dr. Shridhar V. Ketkar, M. A., Ph. D.

WHEN we have before us the idea of constructing India into a nation, what shall be the duty of historians? What attitude should the people have with regard to the past? The traditions of the various races in India so long have been those of mutual enemity. One race has wronged another and peoples who followed different religions, have shown dead hatred towards one other. Mahomedans have demolished Hindu temples and plundered their treasures. Occasionally Hindus (specially Sikhs), have shown aggressive attitude towards Mahomedans. Marathas have fought against Mahomedans, made plans to restore Hindu supremacy in India, but even their actions have not been pure. They have deserted their lofty principles and looted Hindus and Mahomedans alike in the various parts of India. The British, in the course of their conquests, have fought against all parts and against all people in India.

What has historical research then to do? Should a historian dwell over the past and forgotten wrongs and stir up enemity where peace dwells? If he is not to dwell over the past, what should be done with regard to truth and research? If there be any misconception, already current, should it be allowed to exist? If there be any information available to-day, should it be allowed to perish? To these questions an affirmtive reply cannot be given; Truth has to be sought and for its own sake. We must discover some other means to maintain friendly terms among various castes and races. Arresting further research on the subject means only perpetuation of our present beliefs, whether right or wrong. Suppression of historical research is not the proper method to maintain and promote good will among races which once fought with one other.

In order to solve this peculiar problem it is necessary to cultivate an attitude different from what we have. Both historians and the readers need to be educated. The public is to be taught to revere truth, however unpalatable, and the historian should take care to present it in the least offensive manner. We should remember that mere presentation of unpleasant truth does not cause so much ill-feeling, as the way in which it is presented. Effort should be done to bring both the classes, the writers and the readers, on a higher level. The idea as to how the readers will like a plain statement of facts is one which influences the minds of most of the writers, and very few historians are so self-sufficient as to remain prefectly indifferent to the reception of their writings. The ill-preparation of the public to receive truth hampers the freedom and the energies of a writer considerably. I may give here an example. One Maratha scholar who was trying to write a history of few words, happened to pick up the word "Shenavi" which was the popular name of a caste. Now, this caste claims to be Brahmins (in my own opinion their claim is just), but the scholar maintained that the word "Shenavi" is derived from the word "Sainya-pati" (leader of the army), a derivation which is not improbable. Still, inasmuch as such a derivation would go to prove that the Shenavis are Kshatriyas (an inference which I do not endorse), that derivation caused a great deal of resentment in the Shenavi community. A number of papers were filled with communications showering curses on the scholar.

The sensativeness in this matter is not a characteristic of our own people. Once a French ethnologist wrote a long scientific article in which he tried to show that the Germans are not the descendants of Teutons at all, but are descended mostly from Finns and Lapps. This essay of his, was largely commented on, in the French and German papers, and the Germans used it to foster animosity against the French.

In order to prevent a historian being subject to popular favour or wrath unnecessarily, the. public is to be prepared to accept the truth. This preparation would involve a great deal of effort. None of us like to see our forefathers' race or caste traduced, but we should at the same time be prepared to admit the facts about them. To make such an admission easy for us, it is necessary to insist upon the principle that the descendants should not be blamed for the actions of the forefathers. Historians are to realize that while writing on the misdeeds of various peoples, no attempt should be made to cast a slur on the present members of the community. We should again learn not to hate the present members of any particular caste, because their forefathers have acted wrongly or because they were hated by our forefathers. We should not pass a judgment against the present members of a caste or tribe, because the forefathers of that caste or tribe were not ideal persons. Those who were once enemies, have now become fellow-subjects. Our feelings towards one other are and ought to be different from those of our forefathers.

We should again be perfectly willing to admit the facts when our forefathers have done any wrong. Should we frankly admit the mistakes and even rascalities of our forefathers, the rancour of our opponents becomes considerably less. Should one people be willing not to hold another people responsible for the actions of their forefathers, the other people naturally have greater willingness to admit the mistakes of their forefathers. I am aware of the fact that it is extremely difficult to cultivate these feelings ; still it is necessary to cultivate them, and every effort should be made.

In modern history there have been three peoples who have played the part of aggressors. They are the Mahomedans, the Marathas, and the British. It is necessary for these people to acknowledge in the perfect frankness the wrongs done by their forefathers when they really have done wrongs. The attitude which they ought to cultivate is that though in the past we have not been good men, though our actions were not always just and proper still we wish to be good in future. A frank achnowledgment of this kind will do a great deal to promote good feelings.

The same remark should be made with reference to the attitude between higher castes and lower castes among Hindus. The attitude of the higher castes, especially of the Brahmans, towards the lower castes has not always been the best. If the lower castes of Hindus to-day will keep censuring the higher castes, and the higher castes continue justifying every action of their forefathers, we should never be able to co-operate and take any united action.

Historians have a great duty before them. They are not merely scribblers of popular tracts. They should not try to seek popularity by flattering the prejudices of a section of readers, and specially of those of their own caste and tribe. To flatter prejudices of one's own tribe has been a very favourite trick among the historians. If any philosopher or historian justifies the wrong actions and misdeeds of his own countrymen or tribe, the latter are ready to laud the writer and make him a great authority. To-day an historical writer has a great incentive to be honest than there was in the past. To speak truth has not become merely honourable, but it has become more expedient. It has become so for two reasons. First of all to speak truth has become a political necessity, and a requirement for the public welfare; secondly, to-day there is a greater danger of a falsehood being exposed.

A historian does not merely present facts. Many historians make comments and try to philosophize. In fact, the censure of an honest and philosophic historian is the highest of all censures, and the historian should be stringently judicial in giving praise or blame. But there are many historians who abuse it. When they describe the bad actions of the antagonists, they write every detail, and when they have to describe the cruelty of their own side, they pass over them hurriedly. They give severe censure to the antagonist and sit silent about the evil actions of their own party or try to give good coating to them.

The above remarks have been made with a special reference to the British historians, who had so long practically the monopoly of the field. To a British historian of the past, who may be writing about India, it was not a political necessity to do justice to the Indians. The Indians, or rather the various Indian states about which he was writing, were professedly the enemies of the British. The Englishmen did not expect the Indians to have a fellow-feeling about them, and the English people themselves had very little. The English writers in those days did not expect the Indians to read the books which they were writing, and to the English public in general the Indians were no nearer than the peoples of the Dreamland.

The conditions have changed. The English people and Indians have become fellow-subjects. Many Englishmen to-day at least talk about cultivating friendly relations between themselves and the Indians. It would do a great deal of injury to-day if one section of, and one community in, the Empire inveighs against another.

A false and partial historian will promote nothing but mischief and racial hatred. If an English historian to-day writes a history of India and makes it apologetic for his own race, omits to narrate the misdoings of his own countrymen, dwells at length on the cruelties of Indians, presents as truth false reports discrediting Indian actions, and puts down unauthenticated tales in order to assail the memory of the great men which India produced, he will evoke resentment against the British nation more than anything else will.

The unfortunate situation does not stop here. Sometimes a book of this nature gets into the school curriculum, and is used for the instruction of students. And the public begins to suspect that the Government is interested in teaching such false account to the students. The student does not believe implicitly in the book that is taught to them, and when later he learns about the facts which were falsified to him, he begins to hate the educational system and the Government which he believes to be conspiring deceive him. I have met a large number of Indian students, who strongly hold the doctrine that nothing whatsoever that is written by an English historian should be believed. He, therefore, disbelieves in an honest and impartial writer also, if he happens to be an Englishman. Moveover, when the Indian press notices such books, Indian historians write about the subjects, they feel compelled to express their resentment in very strong language. They present the other side with vehemence, which is only a natural outcome of the previous misinformation circulated.

A few months ago I had access to the book on the "Indian War of Independence," written by an "Indian Nationalist," which is attributed to Mr. Savarkar, and the importation of which is prohibited in India at present. This book contains almost new fact which had not been presented before. Most of the authorities which the writer had consulted have been European. The book was, however, suppressed, and in my opinion the Government was right in suppressing the book. The book is written in a highly inflamatory language entirely unsuited to an historical work. The aim of the writer apparently did not seem to present the truth, but to make the Indian reader deadly hate the English people. Though we may blame the writer, still we should also try to understand him. As far as I could understand the writer and his motives, I could see that a great deal of his vehemence was due to the improper attitude of the previous historians.

Englishmen so far had practically the monopoly of the historian's field, but the conditions are changing. Indians also are coming forward, and will be ready to challange the mis-statements of Englishmen, should the latter continue to make them. The English historians of past were interested in justifying the actions of those who took part in conquering India before the jury of their own countymen. The English readers at that time were unsuspecting, and did not have the other side to hear. But the English public of to-day has become more critical with reference to the statements regarding other countries. It is willing to listen to the other side. The scholarly circle has come into existence. It does not care for the justification of their own countrymen but is anxious to learn truth.

I should warn the reader at the same time not to be too optimistic. There is as yet insufficient scope to publish truth. Mis-statements regarding India appear too often in the English and American press, and the editors of the papers and the journals have shown too great an unwillingness to represent the Indian side. A few months ago a series of articles on the "Unrest in India" appeared in the most prominent English paper. These articles contained a large number of errors and some wilful mis-statements. At that time some Indians who wished to correct these mis-statements, wrote letters to the paper which were not accepted by the editor. In America I have seen the same state of affairs. There is a weekly magazine published in New York, to which an American ex-President occasionally contributes articles. In this magazine, a number of articles on the good work done by Christian missionaries, have appeared. I had asked the editor whether he would consider an article representing the other side, and the editor replied that whereas they appreciate the idea, they would not be able to make space for an article of the nature I described. There are some Indians who have been fortunate enough to get their articles accepted in England and America, but they have found space at the cost of their opinions.

Thus, in short, to-day there is no sufficient facility for the publication of facts, which may represent, and acts and opinions which do not correspond with, the sentiments of the dominant class which controls the press. This is, a very unfortunate state of affairs, specially because a future historian to whom facts may be unknown, will glean from the newspapers. The attitude of the British press which we have noticed, may be changed in future, but in order to change it, it is necessary to point out to the British people its scanty impartiality.

Another obstacle to the publication of truth and research is the lack of proper medium. There are no English journals in India which are conducted by critical scholars of Indian history, and which may make provision to publish historical researches. In the various reviews published in India, one occasionally finds historical articles. Some of these articles are written by well-qualified scholars, and some by men who do not understand a single principle of scientific research. Both these classes of articles are huddled up together. Writings of a truly ripe scholar as well as of popular, joke-making journalists are found in the same journal, and sometimes in the same number occasionally a good scholar is brought into argumentation with a person, unfit to take part in historical discussion.

The tasks of the popular writer and of scholars are divided, and the organs for these two classes of people ought to be different. So much specialization has not yet come into existence in India. England shows better development in this matter but is still far behind France, Germany, and America. In America I have noticed a certain sort of antagonism between the scholars and popular writers. To write for periodicals is considered, to a certain extent, unworthy of scientists and students. This antagonism is more pronounced in America because the popular journals' there have too inferior a standard. There is scarcely any monthly magazine which shows the same standard of excellence as the various Indian reviews, and the important English magazines do. The advantages which a specialization in the mediums of publication may give are various. First of all, persons who are studying the same subjects are brought into mutual acquaintance; when the editor is a specially trained man, he will not give publicity to articles which do not deserve any serious notice. Again the articles, which are too technical for the average reader, will find some scope.

Another scope for publicity which is always open in India, as elsewhere, is the publication of independent books. In order to make the publication of a book possible, it is necessary to have the consumers of such books accumulated. Instead of publishing individual books at different places, and taking chances of its circulation, it is advisable to publish a series of historical works. By publishing a number of books together in one series, a considerable amount of effort for their circulation will be saved. It is my project to undertake a series of this nature to be printed and published in London. These will contain various historical monographs regarding the political history of India, and also those which may contain scientific inquiry having bearing on the history of civilization in India. These monagraphs will be written by scholars who have done good investigation in the subjects which they may write about, and who, in my opinion, are dependable.

Another obstacle which prevents the circulation of truth is the variety of languages in India. In our country we have nineteen developed languages, each having a respectable amount of literature. Again, all these languages are suffering from the encroachments of the English language. The patriotic element, therefore, in various parts of India, is anxious to develop its own language and literature. I do not know what is the situation in different parts of India, but I am familiar with the conditions in the Maratha country. There are a number of scholars who have taken very seriously to the research in Maratha history. Among them, Mr. Khare and Mr. Vishvanath K. Rajvade, deserve special mention. The work of Mr. Rajvade is specially noteworthy. His researches are multiform, and show a very high standard of scholarship. In fact, he has very few equals in Europe and America as far as learning and critical ability are concerned. But his works, valuable as they are, have practically remained unnoticed in Europe and even in India as they are locked up in a language known to very few. Though Mr. Rajvade enjoys a very great reputation in his own province, his work is almost unknown in other parts of India.

In Europe people who speak a language, which is known in a very small area, like Holland or Sweden, or Finland, write works either in French, German or English. In their cases, their scientfic zeal gets the better of patriotism, but that stage does not seem to have come in the Maratha country, as yet. As in Maratha country, so in other parts. It is possible that some research may have been done by those who speak Hindustani, but which may have yet remained unknown. As far as my inquiry goes, I did not find any such work in Hindi, Gujarathi, Bengali, but it is possible that some work of high character may have been done. In cases like these it is our duty not to allow the knowledge of historical truth confined to one province. The works of these writers should be translated into English. If there had been any other language accepted by Indians as a common language, it would have been necessary to translate the provincial works into general language. But as long as no Indian language is accepted as universal Indian language, it would be necessary to translate the works into English.

THE ECONOMIC CREED OF THE LATE MR. RANADE.

By Prof. V. G. Kale, M. A., Fergusson College, Poona.

IN the December number of the *Monthly Review*, Mr. N. Narayanan, B. A., has attempted a character sketch of the late Mr. Justice Ranade and tried, with a bold hand, and with a few strong touches, to bring out the salient features of the subject of his portrait. The sketch is far from complete or life-like. The writer has endeavoured to take a searchingly critical, though brief, survey of the positions of Mr. Ranade as a social reformer, an historian, an economist and a judge. Mr. Narayanan has taken pains to be fair and just in his criticism and his "study of the life of one of modern India's noblest sons" evinces a deep regard and reverence for that great man. But his judgment on certain points would seem to have been based upon insufficient information, and many of his statements may invite challenge. We do not, however, propose in this place to cover the whole ground traversed by Mr. Narayanan, limited as it is. It is the aim of the present article to examine the criticism he has passed upon Mr. Ranade's economic views. Mr. Ranade is very properly regarded as the best exponent of Indian Political Economy. Though others before him had given expression to opinions similar to his own, he was almost the first to give a systematic exposition of the economic situation in India, and to suggest the right policy that ought to be pursued to improve it. The gravamen of the charge Mr. Narayanan has brought against Mr. Ranade is, that the latter belonged to the extreme wing of the German school of Political Economy and showed, consequently, its weakness along with its strength. Here is what Mr. Narayanan says on the point :—"Had Mr. Ranade been content to remain within the fold of the reformed abstract school of his time, had he refrained from committing himself to the consequential assertions of the German school, he would never have allowed his views on economics in general to be lost in a maze of confusion or merged in a bag of bigotry. We are sorry that the profound learning that characterized him throughout life should not have provided him with insight enough to see through these extreme German economists and detect the irrelevancy a pointlessness of their arguments." And further :—"We are far from blaming Ranade for his attack on the copy-book maxims which Government have been long adopting as their guides. But we *do* blame Ranade for the unreasonable prejudice that has blurred his vision and so prevented him from recognising the legitimate merits a serviceability of the deductive method. We affirm again, without fear of contradiction, that Ranade's prefatory essay detracts much from the credit that is otherwise due to him as an economist." Every student of economics now knows that the thinkers of the orthodox school carried the use of the deductive method in their reasoning to such absurd, lengths that while they developed Political Economy into a full-fledged science, they helped to make it highly abstract, sterile and practically useless. They started from certain assumed principles to which they gave an air of universality. The conclusions which they thus drew were barely true of their own surroundings and were scarcely applicable anywhere else in the world. At last there came a reaction. The standard of revolt was raised by the economists of the historical school, who pointed out the absurdity of the abstract character of the orthodox political economy of their contemporaries and predecessors. Such a correction was absolutely necessary and the rise of the German school is a distinct and valuable landmark in the history of Economics. That economic problems pertaining to a particular people or state must be studied with direct reference to the history, the surroundings and the social and political institutions of that people or state, and that there are very few iron laws that will inflexibly apply to all alike, irrespective of varied and varying conditions, is a principle which has been admitted on all hands. It must, however, be conceded that even the inductive method may be carried too far, so that the deductive and inductive methods, far from being mutually exclusive, are compelmentary to each other. The service rendered by the orthodox economists in systematising Political Economy in a regular science is too real and valuable to be denied and, in fact, the exponents of the later school have done little that is original or that is not based upon the laws discovered by their predecessors. They have emphasised the deductions and qualifications that are necessary to make the old theories fruitful and practically valuable. Even in what are called the exact sciences, assumptions and hypothesis are usual as working bases, and other proverbial "economic man" of the old school may be defended on that ground. Only we must not begin and end with the hypothetical man or society. A similar remark may be made with regard to the other assumptions, such as those of human self-interest and wide-spread competition.

There is no denying the fact that Mr. Ranade was an adherent of the German school and of the advanced section of that school. As Mr. Narayanan shows in another part of his article, Mr. Ranade's was a life of revolt, 'much restrained, no doubt, in its violence, but nevertheless very effective and exemplary'. 'He rebelled against the established notions of ideal womanhood, rebelled against the time-honoured prejudices of Brahminical orthodoxy, rebelled against the tenets of the writers of 'drum and trumpet' history, rebelled against the abstract theories of the Ricardian school.' Little wonder, therefore, that he raised an uncompromising revolt against the indiscriminate manner in which the sweeping generalisations of the doctrinaire economists of England were applied in this country, to the prejudice of the proper economic development of its resources. But Mr. Narayanan here asserts that Mr. Ranade's unreasonable prejudice against the orthodox economists blurred his vision and so prevented him from recognizing the legitimate merits and serviceability of the deductive method. He is sorry that the profound learning that characterised Mr. Ranade throughout life should not have provided him with insight enough to see through the extreme German economists and detect the irrelevancy and pointlessness of their arguments. In justice to Mr. Ranade it must be observed that his lecture on "Indian Political Economy" delivered at the Deccan College, Poona, in 1892, which, it is said, "detracts much from the credit that is otherwise due to him as an economist," was not a formal treatise on the science in which he should have adverted to the comparative merits of the inductive and deductive methods. In fact, at the beginning of that lecture he expressly tells us the exact purpose he had in view in taking up the subject. He says: —"It occurred to me at the time that if the law of relativity and correspondence holds good in politics and social science generally, it ought to hold good equally in all kindred subjects, including, among others, the science of national wealth, or, as it is more populary described, Political Economy." He took strong objection to the English statesmen holding that the truths of the economic science, as they have been expounded in the popular English text-books, are absolutely and demonstrably true and must be accepted as guides of conduct for all time and place, whatever might be the stage of national advance. Because free trade is beneficial to England, it was and is held equally beneficial to this country. Principles which were applicable to the peculiar conditions in Britain were made absolutely applicable to India, in spite of the glaring differences in the natural, political and social situations of the two. British statesmen did not, however, stop here. Mr. Ranade proved by means of a number of practical illustrations how they appealed to the absolute truths of Political Economy for a curious change of front. For instance, he showed how people coming from a country where private property in land is most absolute, developed, on their arrival here, a taste for socialistic doctrines, and how a love for capitalist forming on a large scale gave way to a taste for *petit culture* by poor tenants. Mr. Ranade, therefore, proposed to consider whether the belief in the scientific and absolute character of such economic conclusions, against the extreme rigour of which a vigorous protest was being raised on the continent of Europe and in the English colonies, was well founded. He thought with the economists of the German school, that it was not. Having stated the usual dogmatic assumptions of the orthodox economists, he indicated how they were hypothetically valid and true only of a certain stage of social and economic evolution. Mr. Ranade then proceeded to take a retrospective view of the progress of the economic science and passed from stage to stage and economist to economist, till he brought down the *resume* to the German school which regards universalism and perpetualism in economic doctrine as both unscientific and untrue. And then he stated his conclusion as follows :—"I hope thus to have shown that the nature of the subject itself as a branch of social science which is best studied historically, and not deductively, the actual practice of the most civilized nations and the history of the growth of its theory, given above, alike establish the doctrine of the relatively and the predominant claim of collective welfare over individual interests as the principal features in which the highest minds of the present day chiefly differ from the economic writers of old school with their *a priori* conclusions based on individual self-interest and unrestricted competition". The protest raised by Mr. Ranade twenty years ago is by no means superfluous to-day. And a large school of Indian economists is following his lead at the present moment. The corrective he supplied is necessary properly to shape the economic and fiscal policy of the state in India, and hence he is justly called the father of Indian Economics. In his lecture under consideration, Mr. Ranade has placed his finger on a number of problems on which a marked departure from the time-honoured economic policy based upon the orthodox English doctrines is urgently called for.

It is complained that, as an acute-minded economist, Mr. Ranade should not have overlooked the utility of the deductive method in economic reasoning and should have given the orthodox school its due. He is said to have been so overwhelmed by the first flux of enthusiasm that followed the foundation of the historical school, that it made him blind to the untenability of his attitude towards abstract economics. It is difficult to see how such a position can be sustained. Mr. Ranade, it is well-known, was a practical reformer, and was not inclined to quarrel over theories. When he had a particular moral to enforce, he concentrated all his powers of persuasion and argument on it, so that in the end he was able to make out a very strong case in its favour. His addresses at the Social Conferences and other speeches are not judgments delivered from the bench, nor are they scientific and philosophic treatises intended only for the learned and the expert. They are rather speeches of an advocate who is anxious to win the jury over to his side. Even his *Rise of the Maratha Power* is not distinguished by any research. It is intended to remove certain misconceptions current about the Maratha nation and to interpret its history in quite a new way. The same characteristic may be seen running through all his other writings and speeches. His fervent patriotism, his consciousness of the strong and weak points of his countrymen, his unrivalled vision into the distant future and his correct conception of the limitation and possibilities of India led him to perceive in his surroundings certain truths and moral lessons which were not visible to less gifted eyes and brains. Careful observation and deep thought had convinced him that India could never get out of her backward condition, unless she threw off her dependence on agriculture and turned her hand to modern manufactures. He found that, under the domination of the doctrines of the orthodox school of economists, the state in this country was inclined to hold its hands off and remain an indifferent spectator while people were evolving their own destiny. This attitude and the prevailing economic and industrial conditions bore a marked contrast to what Western and Colonial Governments were doing to promote the economic progress of the people under their care. Why should not the Indian state, thought Mr. Ranade, do likewise? Throughout all his economic writings we have this vein of thought predominating. Indeed, he exhorts his countrymen to help themselves, and he was himself not a little instrumental in giving a stimulus to the industrial movement in his own Province more than twenty years ago. Mr. Ranade felt that one great stumbling block in the way was the worship which the rulers piously paid to the fetist of the orthodox doctrines. Even in England, the home and stronghold of the old school, a number of well-known economists are to-day preaching a crusade against Free Trade and *laisse faire*. Is it not permissible to Mr. Ranade to take up a similar attitude and to urge the freedom of the rulers of this country 'from the fear of offending the so-called maxims of rigid economic science?' Why should his essay on Indian Economics stink in the nostrils of his orthodox critics? Mr. Narayanan sees in it even the evidence of plagiarism. He best knows what he means to convey by that term. To us that essay is the key-note to his economic faith. We see that faith shining out through the pages of some of the papers embodied in his *Essays on Indian Economics*. Where is 'the maze of confusion' in which his views on economics in general are said to have been lost? The views are as clear and sound, as any views can be. One may not agree in them; that is a different matter.

But the head and front of Mr. Ranade's offence is, that he did not recognize, as an economist, the utility of the deductive method and had no words but those of condemnation for the orthodox school. There is a marked agreement, however, among economists of the day, that the old school had carried the hypothetical and dogmatic character of the science to such absurd lengths that the corrective of the German school was badly needed. The followers of Mill and Ricardo themselves are seen to disown their masters in the matter of a number of theories and have expressed their disgust at the rigidity and futility of their abstract doctrines. Like a host of other economists, Mr. Ranade has exposed the mistakes of the Ricardian school and pleaded for a departure in the policy of the Indian state, which was all along dictated by a sense of obedience to the principles of that school. In India of all countries in the world, the historical method of study is the most urgently required, and the adoption of an economic policy consonant to its peculiar conditions is imperatively demanded. This was the moral Mr. Ranade wanted to enforce, and he has done it with remarkable success. The lessons he imparted have been taken to heart and the Government is practising what would have been, at one time, regarded as rank heresies. Every writer on Indian economic subjects has acknowledged the debt of gratitude India owes to him for having shown him the way. If Mr. Ranade did not do justice to the deductive method, he was clearly not concerned with that aspect of the subject at all. He had a definite mission, and carried it out. In his lecture on Indian Political Economy, his main theme was the unsuitability of the orthodox doctrines to Indian conditions. He expanded that theme by means of practical illustrations and proved his thesis. Nothing more was expected of him, and nothing more ought to be expected from that essay. He could not but have been aware of the merits of the deductive method, but to refer to them would have been obviously irrelevant. As we have remarked above, he has not written an eloborate treatise upon the history of economics, nor has he discussed in detail the merits of economic methods. His preliminary remarks show how he was tempted to take up the subject. His object being what it was, his treatment could not be other than what it is. Had he had occasion to go minutely into the whole subject, we may rest assured he would have pointed out the weakness and danger of a blind adhesion to the historic method. Even supposing this to be problematical, that he has not recognized the serviceability of the deductive method in his essays, cannot, in any way, detract from the credit that is due to him as an economist. We may as well blame him for not having written a history of the rise of the British Power in India! Why not expect Mr. Joseph Chamberlain to sing the praises of Free Trade and Mr. Balfour to wax eloquent over the benefits of Irish Home Rule? Mr. Ranade was not a man of theory. To his practical mind an inch of real advance was equivalent to miles of theoretical progress. This characteristic of his is seen reflected in all his writings and speeches, social and economic.

THE WEST AND THE EAST: IN SPECIAL RELATION TO THE PROGRESS OF BRITISH INDIA.

By Mr. J. Chatterji, B. A., Bar-at-Law.

"THE twain shall never meet"—Ever since this noteable pronouncement by a great English word-painter the cry has been taken up by all and sundry as the last word on the subject of the West and the East. Met they have, however, on the broad plains of Hindustan for a century and upwards. But the question yet remains as to whether this meeting would ever succeed in evolving a common standpoint, a common bond of union, for both, or leave the twain, despite the intimate nature of their contact, ever asunder and apart like a mixture of oil and water. The mantle of the prophet has not fallen on my shoulders, yet "never is rather a long day" as the saying goes; and happily for me the question does not come within the immediate purview of this paper, which is merely concerned with the West and the East: in special relation to the progress of British India."

One great, if not quite the greatest, result of British rule in Hindustan, has been the evolution of a notion of common nationality, and one can perceive its nucleus with one's bare eyes. The question, however, is as to what it will be when it grows up to maturity. Whether it would comprise only the native Indian subjects of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, or include as well within its pale the European British subjects resident in India; or in other words, whether it would form a pure Indian nationality or a British Indian nationality? I shall, however, for the present only assume its existence without the specific characteristics of either, and defer any observations I may have to make on this question till later.

The purpose of the national organism, like that of the individual, is to develop into its possible best. The chrysalis, blooms into the butterfly, the embryo grows into the individual This growth in the case of the individual, is dependent upon its inherent stock of vital energy and the surroundings in which it may happen to be placed. Added to this is a third element which may be described as the accidents of life. The cruel hand of the truant might destroy the chrysalis before maturity; or a fall of the mother might destroy the embryo before it could assume its separate individual existence. And, moreover, the skill of the scientist might regulate and improve the growth of the individual organism by decreasing the abnormal dissipation of its vital energy or by smoothing down the rigours of an adverse environment.

The higher we look in the order of nature the more complicated do we find this process of development. The skill of the horse-breeder and trainer comes into play in the production, in one case of a superior breed of the equine race, and in the other of the finest racers.

The same three elements would seem to appear in the case of the growth of the human organism; only the process of development is infinitely more complex, by reason of its possession of the rational and spiritual principles in addition to the vital. The possession of these additional elements would render the task of the scientific breeder and trainer, in the case of the human species, a great deal more difficult and even hazardous. For, in order that the development of the human individual may be even in all its phases proper account has to be taken of its manifold functions and phases of activity—in the respective spheres of its physique, intellect, and spirituality. Man being by instinct a social being, has to live in a community or state, and the growth of the former is intimately connected with that of the latter, and *vice versa*, inasmuch as they act and re-act upon each other in innumerable ways. The same three elements would, however, seem in the main to appear in the case of the growth of the nation as in the case of the individual.

Without adverting to any of the moot questions as to the right theory of government, one might safely assert that the purpose of Government, is to evolve a proper adjustment of the relations of the individual to the state, and their respective functions, so as to conduce to the highest development of both. It follows, therefore, that one of the main duties of the state, is to facilitate the highest development of the physique, intellect, and spirituality of the community. In this view of the matter it should be as much the concern of the state to render every possible facility for the spiritual development of the community, as for the physical and the intellectual. For, the want of proper spiritual culture, is by no means calculated to produce the highest synchronous development of the human individual. Physical development without the controlling influence of the cultivated mind, would, at best, merely succeed in producing a physical monster. So mere mental development without the physical, could only produce a feeble intellectual machine, doomed to speedy extinction ; and similarly, the conjoint development of both these elements without the supreme controlling influence of the spiritual in man, could merely succeed in producing a physically strong, and intellectually superb, but God-less machine, with the play of the perennial fountain of soul-inspiring ideas entirely stopped.

The very outlook of life is the outcome of spiritual culture, in the case of both the human individual and the nation. The broader and more far-reaching the outlook of life the higher is the individual or the nation in spiritual culture. The acceptance of a common ideal of life by a community constitutes the spiritual development of the state ; and in fact non-exercise, as well as undue or improper exercise, of one element to the detriment of another or others, are equally injurious, both in the case of the individual and the nation.

In this view of the matter religious neutrality becomes nothing better than a meaningless expression. Religious toleration is intelligible, and quite a different thing, and conceivably beneficial to both the individual and the State ; whereas religious neutrality is neither.

Certain religious practices in a state might conceivably be hurtful to the rest of the community, or militate against the common principles of humanity ; and as such, must necessarily for the self-preservation of the state, come within the purview of its Legislature to proscribe the same by means of legal sanction. As the domain of individual liberty has to be subordinated, for the safety of the state, to the necessities of state demand ; so must the domain of religious liberty be similarly subordinated, but not perhaps to the same extent. It is for this reason that the state is invariably assumed to possess the inherent power to enact laws restrictive of both civil, as well as, religious liberty. For the well-being of the state itself Liberty must not, under any circumstances, be allowed to degenerate into license, whether civil or religious.

Moral instruction could never replace religious teaching—for one has to remember that it is not merely the want of knowledge as to what is right and what is wrong that leads humanity astray, but the want of a serious and living faith in the actuality of religious sanction in every case of infringement of the spiritual laws. Hence the overpowering necessity of a living faith in both the individual and the community.

As to how the spiritual culture of a state particularly that of British India, where the components have widely differing religious faiths with widely differing ideals, could be best effected, is another, and quite a different, question. But surely, if the main principle to which reference has already been made, be once accepted, human ingenuity and British statesmanship would not be found unable to cope with the problem and successfully devise the means requisite to that end.

One might venture without presuming to claim for them the virtue of being the very last words on the subject, a few observations on this problem. Without going into details, which neither the exigencies of time nor the scope of the paper would permit, one might say that the Legislature, in order to be able satisfactorily to perform these duties of controlling social and religious practices, must be fully representative of all classes, and entirely independent of extraneous control. Perhaps I ought to make my meaning a little clearer. What I mean is that all shades and grades of religious faiths and opinions prevealent in the state, should be properly and adequately represented on the Legislature ; and the latter allowed an absolutely free hand in the enactment of measures of this description, independent of the control of people other than those comprising the state ;—and for this purpose special class representation, apart from its numerical strength, on the Provincial Legislatures, forms a supreme necessity in British India. From this point of view the wisdom and and foresight of the joint scheme of Lords Minto and Morley in granting the Provincial Legislative Councils a special class representation and a non-official majority, cannot be too highly commended. It is, however, not very difficult to perceive the limitations of the scheme ; but the removal of such limitations and proper expansion of these bodies to be fully representative of the various classes are merely a question of time, being bare matters of detail and not one of principle. The question of the independence of the provincial Legislatures of the control of extraneous elements, raises a very important issue, namely, as to the composition of the nationality in British India. That is to say, whether it would take in the European British subject in India, or would merely comprise the members of the native Indian races.

If it is to be the former, it would mean the fusion of the innumerable races of India including the European British subject into a commom nationality, with the one fundamental idea of British Indian citizenship. The formation of such a nationality would, so far as one can judge, render the task of government of the country much easier ; and the Government of British India would, not improbably, be only too anxious to accord its full recognition to such a nationality ; and under such protection its growth would assuredly be speedy, and its maturity a mere question of the minimum quantum of time.

This consummation, however desirable, does not seem to be capable of being forced upon the European British subject, either by the pure Indian factors in the state, or even by the Government itself ; the matter would seem entirely to rest with themselves. No visible signs of such a consummation, however. are yet forthcoming, since the days of George Yule of Calcutta, and White of Madras.

In case, however, the Indian should be left alone to evolve a nationality of his own, and work out its destiny without the powerful aid of the British element in India, and the innumerable facilities which it might assuredly render both in the formation and development of this nationality, it would not seem by any means improbable, that even without this extraneous aid, the craving of the Indian in this direction would remain unsatisfied, or his endeavours prove vain. For the very presence of British rule is calculated to impart the requisite unifying principle as it has done in the past, and preserve the nucleus of nationality now perceptible from meeting an untimely end.

Even then one should have to bear in mind that the Government of British India would not improbably be unable to accord its whole-hearted support to the proper development of such a nationality, as it could scarcely be expected that the Government would, even it could, ignore such a powerful element as the European British subject in India.

In such an event it would perhaps be well for the British element in the Provincial Legislative Councils, to abstain from throwing the weight of its influence on the balance in matters of purely Indian social and religious reform, in favour of one party to the deteriment of another, but remain absolutely neutral, excepting in so far as such matters might be caculated to impair the consolidation or development of the empire or militate against the common principles of humanity. On the other hand, the Indian elements would do well to remember that it was their duty to support the real interests of the Empire to the detriment even of India's own interests ; for surely, the interests of an entirety must always remain superior to those of its various components.

Despite all, however, it is not very difficult to conceive that there would still arise occasions when a conflict of interests as between the various Indian elements themselves, and particularly as between the British and Indian factors, would prove inevitable. And whenever a conflict of the latter character should arise, the Indians would probably find that they were left entirely to their own resources to work their own way up—and so far as one could judge the balance of forces would not unoften prove to be in their favour, and the progress of the Indian nation, in spite of certain reverses, prove fairly steady, though rather slow. One has to bear in mind in this connection, the broad fact that the evolution of a nationality in British India, is a necessary adjunct of British rule, and could only possibly come to an untimely end with the abrupt termination of such rule itself, and nothing else—and such a contingency is at present hardly conceivable.

In so far as the most predominant factor in British India is the British element, and the Government is mainly British in its constitution, it is most important to see wherein lies the difference between the West and the East.

For it is only through mutual understanding that generation of good-will becomes possible, which alone can render the path of India's progress as smooth and even, as circumstances or accidents of life will permit.

One may hear the strong voice of the West cry out :—"Oh ! I am essentially efficient and active, whereas the East is essentially slumberous and passive. Brittania is the greatest of my children, hence her supermacy in the East, and dominion over Hindustan." To which the feeble voice of the superstitious East may be heard to say in reply—"No—the sway of the West is an ordination of Providence for our mutual elevation and benefit. The West has to take more thought of the spiritual side of life, and I of the material, and the result will be a peaceful and harmonious development for us both—and Hindustan is the chosen land where this Union is to be exemplified and illustrated."

So far as it goes, there is no doubt a substratum of truth in what the West is thus heard to say ; but it does not seem to be the whole truth. One has, perhaps, amid the din and bustle of life, misheard or misunderstood the voice of the West. This difference is not of the essence but a mere accident—the result of fuller development of certain active qualities in the West.

The real point of the faith in the superiority of one race or nation to another is mainly based upon a ceratin preconceived notion without pausing to reflect upon the logical validity of the standard set up. For instance, one often hears in this country an expression used in connection with an Asiatic when a European seeks to pay him the very highest compliment—"Oh—so and so—he is a real Sahib." This throws a peculiar light on the subject. It presupposes one of two things—the prevalence of the same standard of judgment in both the West and the East, or that the standard of the West is the very highest to judge humanity by.

But really what is Efficiency but the capacity to realise what is desired ; and the most cursory observation reveals to one the fact that the object of desire is by no means the same in both the West and the East—hence the tacit postulation by the West of its own standard as the highest to judge mankind by, and hence also is her sense of supriority for herself, and contempt for others.

The object of desire being thus different Efficiency, as understood in the West, is not the same great fetish in the East, as it happens to be over there. One has to bear in mind the fact that efficiency to be truly efficient, must be appreciable as such by those over whom or for whose benefit it is exercised, and includes the capacity to uplift the level of the standard of public judgment to a proper appreciation of its own worth. As an advocate, however eminent in juristic learning but inclined to airing his own knowledge and talking over the heads of his judges, is not likely to succeed in winning his client's cause ; or as the present of a tie-pin of whatever rare beauty and value to one who never has in all his life worn, nor is likely ever to wear, a neck-tie, can scarcely be said to be very much appreciated as such by the recipient. In any case it is somewhat difficult to conceive that the West will ever wholly succeed in super-imposing the objects of her desire in their totality on those of the East.

Sir Bamfylde Fuller in his admirable article in the last November number of the *Nineteenth Century* entitled "East and West : a Study of Differences" says :—"The difference, it is clear, lies very deep, and must represent a fundamental difference in the conceptions of what makes life worth having. The East and the West both desire happiness. But they differ in their notions of the circumstances which conduce to it. We associate happiness with material well-being, and endeavour successfully or unsuccessfully, to attain it by the accumulation of possessions, and the gratification of physical, intellectual, and artistic tastes. The Oriental looks for happiness in the mind rather than in the body, and believes that the highest satisfaction which man can hope to attain is derived from the gratification of feelings of personal dignity. He holds in fact, that life's greatest joy is to feel oneself respected and admired. " This distinction , so far as it goes, has a basis of truth in it ; but with all respect, I venture to think it is by no means fundamental. For the idea of dignity which the East cherishes, is a mere expression of the respect and admiration the Oriental accords to his caste, occupation, faith or position in life or his moral and spiritual worth, which to him are but the visible signs and symbols of his unseen past, rather than to his personality. This distinction is perhaps somewhat subtle, but seems none the less to be true ;—for inspite of all distinctions and differences the Oriental believes in the actuality of the same indwelling Spirit animating himself as well as the meanest creature on Earth

There is, moreover, a form of silliness in the East, which on occasions most painfully affects the western mind—regardless of the fact that it is merely a part of the universal silliness of humanity; which manifests itself when the conception of a new thought struggles somewhat prematurely, perhaps, to find expression in language. Her contact with the West has brought vast regions of new life and thought within the mental vision of the East, creating a sort of dualism in the Oriental mind ; and the birth of a new idea to be sound must be able to withstand the rigours of these new surroundings, as well as the old. And that is how it requires the same delicate consideration and sympathetic treatment as a woman carrying within her the genus of another human life—for impatient roughness merely succeeds in destroying the embroynic thought. In the language of a western author, who, if I now remember the words rightly, says,—true sympathy begets the capacity to sympathise even with the universal silliness of humanity.

A feeling of interest must precede understanding, and a feeling of respect and admiration, appreciation. If one starts with the notion that the East has nothing to entitle her to claim either the respect or admiration of the West, it will then prove practically impossible for one to muster up sufficient interest in the East, even as a matter of duty—to enable one to understand, much less appreciate the East. There is no doubt falsity, folly, superstition, idolatory, cruelty and bigotry in the East, and the same, I venture to think, are to be found in the West, with, perhaps, a slightly different veneer. The West sedulously seeks to cover up her ugly spots under the garb of civilisation, and show off her beauty, aided by art peculiarly her own, to dazzle and captivate the eye. The East, on the contrary, seeks to cover up her beauty under the thick veil of modesty, and would rather allow her blemishes than her excellences to meet the stranger's gaze.

To understand the East one must feel sufficient interest in her to awaken one's devoted love, to be able to persuade her to lift up her veil and reward one's patient love-laden eyes with a vision of her artless beauty.

Advertisement and window-dressing are an unknown art in the East; but perhaps an absolute necessity in the West, to attract the eye as she runs along in her mad career in quest of wealth and fame. The West is ever anxious to be understood and appreciated, and will even fight for what she conceives her "rights" in this direction—whereas the East sits pensively resigned to her fate to blush unseen and pass through ages as the great un-understood.

The real difference seems to lie in this: that the West puts her faith in the laws of man, and in her endeavour to attain success in life would hardly feel much scruple to circumvent the laws of God—whereas the East puts her faith in the laws of God, and in her quest of a living would show little or no scruple to violate the laws of man. In the East the wilful infliction of pain and unhappiness is the only real wickedness—that covers all guilt. In the West, however, self-advancement is a sufficient justification for the infliction of pain and unhappiness, however grievous to others, so long as it did not contravene the laws of man. Herein lies the real secret of the West's succees in life. The West worships Honour with a capital "H" and spells religion with a small "r"; while the East yet remains content to hug and cherish her ancient faiths. The conventions of life do not occupy the same place in the East as they do in the West. Life on this earth to the Oriental, is but a stage in the journey of Life to his destination; the end of life here being but the commencement of a journey in another. To the Westerner the present is the end of life, and his highest good is attainable by reason of his faith in the vicarious atonement of another, whereas the Oriental believes that his salvation has to be worked out by himself, through personal exertions, and by the grace of Providence, whether in this life or in another.

To my mind all minor differences noticeable in the "twain" are resolvable as the necessary consequences of this fundamental difference. Even the greater efficiency of the West and the greater dignity of the East are quite intelligible on this basis. If the highest good of life be conceived to be the attainment of success in life attended with an influx of riches and glory, it would naturally follow that individual energy would be directed towards the realisation of such an end. If you do, however, conceive this life as a mere stage in the journey of life and the present one a mere preparation for the next and a higher one, the highest good of the West must necessarily hold not the same first, but quite a subsidiary, place in the mind of the East. The greater dignity of the East is the mere result of her careless disdain to adopt the means requisite to the end, when such means prove contrary to her cherished faith, and are summarily brushed aside as being derogatory to the dignity of her humanity. If she could not gain her end without the adoption of such means, she would, perhaps, with a carless disregard of its proper worth, rather do without, than obtain it by having recourse to them. Hence the East's failure in the western eyes.

It is unnecessary to enter into a discussion here as to the comparative merits and values of these divergent ideals. We have so far only to accept facts as we find them—for the question of preference, is mainly, after all, a matter of temperament, which again is merely the visible embodiment of the individual's unseen past.

(*To be concluded.*)

THE LAW REGULATING RELATIONS BETWEEN MUSLIMS AND NON-MUSLIMS.

By the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, M. A., Bar-at-Law.

THE relation between Muslims and non-Muslims has several aspects, that between (1) the Muslim state and alien non-Muslim state, (2) the Muslim state and the alien non-Muslims living temporarily within its jurisdiction, (3) individual Muslims residing or sojourning within the jurisdiction of an alien non-Muslim state and such state, (4) individual Muslims living under the Muslim state and alien non-Muslims, (5) the Muslim state and its non-Muslim subjects, and (6) individual Muslims of a Muslim state and non-Muslim subjects of that state. Questions relating to (5) and (6) have already been dealt with under other heads. I propose here to notice briefly the main principles governing the law under the remaining heads. The subject, as I had occasion to mention elsewhere, is dealt with in the writings of Arab jurists under the heading of As-Siyar or Jehad which is usually translated as religious war.

According to the Mahomedan law, the Imam of the Mahomedan state, supposing there is such an Executive Chief recognized by the Mahomedans, would be justified in declaring such a war against the non-Muslims of Darul-Harb, or an alien state, for the protection of religion. From what the prophet experienced at the hands of the infidels of Mecca, it is presumed that Islam is liable to be exposed to trouble and danger from the enmity and prejudices of non-Muslims. Therefore, in order to ensure the safety of Islam, the Muslim state, provided it is powerful enough to do so, may wage war against an alien or hostile non-Muslim state. That Jehad is permitted really for the protection of Islam and is limited by such necessity, is, in the first place apparent from the fact that the Imam is allowed to enter into a treaty of peace with the hostile state if such a treaty would secure the prevention of the evil to be avoided (1). Then, no such war can be waged unless the non-Muslim subjects of the hostile state have first of all been invited to embrace Islam, and if they accept such invitation, hostilities are to cease at once. That is why, as already explained, Jehad is said to be good not in itself (*Husnun li a'ynihi*), but for the sake of something else (*Husnun li ghairihi*), namely, religion. If they refuse to accept the Mahomedan religion but accept the suzerainty of Islam by agreeing to pay a poll-tax (*jiziya*) to the Muslim state, in that case also hostilities must cease, as there would be no more likelihood of danger to Islam. Non-Muslims so submitting are entitled to the enjoyment of all rights in respect of their lives and property like the Muslims. The underlying idea of Jehad is to maintain the predominance of power or the balance of power, as it is euphemistically called in modern European diplomacy.

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(1) *Hedaya*, Vol. V, pp. 204-5.

In the event of a religious war, the women, the children, the aged and the diseased among the enemies are not to be killed or maltreated, but such of them as have taken part in the fight cannot claim such consideration. The goods of the enemy that are captured during hostillties are treated as a prize in the hands of the Muslims. The head of the conquering Muslim state is entitled to divide the country which has been wrested from the non-Muslims after fight, among the soldiers, or, if he chooses, may impose a poll-tax on its inhabitants. As regards the prisoners taken in war, they may be killed or enslaved or left free to live under the protection of the Muslim state as dhimmees. The Imam has the discretion to determine what is most politic under the circumstances. If the non-Muslim enemies triumph over the Muslims, whatever property the former my have taken in the fight become theirs according to the Mahomedan law ; so that it will not be lawful for the previvious Muslim owners to take the same from the captors except by recognised means of acquisition. But Muslims captured by their non-Muslim enemy cannot be enslaved, as freedom is the inalienable and inviolable condition of a Mahomedan.

When there is a religious war between a Muslim state and a non-Muslim state, it is the duty of the Muslim subjects of the former as a body to serve such war, but not of every individual. What is meant is, that if a sufficient number of men join, the rest will be absolved, but if none join, everyone would be a transgressor in the eye of law. There is no obligation on the children, the women, the aged and the infirm to join in the fight except when the non-Muslims are the aggressors, and it has become necessary for them to fight in self-defence, because, otherwise, if the infidels triumphed, Islam would not be safe.

The head of a Muslim state may, if he considers it beneficial to the Mahomedans, conclude a treaty with a non-Muslim state which it will be his duty to observe faithfully. Such a treaty is regarded as carrying out the real aim of Jihad—which is to ward off injuries likely to be unflicted by non-Muslims. It is assumed that the Imam is to enter into a treaty only for the good of the Mahomedans. The treaty may be for a short or a long period of time, as the Imam may think best, and according to the accepted doctrine, there is no fixed limit of time for it. If, during the term of the treaty, the Imam finds that it would be good for the Mahomedan that he should withdraw from it, he can do so ; but only after giving sufficient notice of his intention to the other party, because law forbids. If the other party begins hostilities in violation of the treaty, it will not be incumbent on the Imam of the Muslim state to give a formal notice before taking action.

Not only may the Imam enter into a treaty of peace with a non-Muslim state, but individual Muslims may afford protection to individual non-Muslim subjects of a non-Muslim state, in which case it will not be lawful for a Muslim to fight them. But should the Imam be of opinion that it is not expedient that those non-Muslims should continue to be under such protection, the protection will be withdrawn after notice has been given to them. (1).

The relations of the Muslims towards the non-Muslims are mainly determined on the basis whether the country or state of the latter is to be regarded as Daru'l-Harb literally territory of war. There can be no question but that a country governed by a Muslim ruler according to the laws of the Islamic religion, is Darul Islam. Nor can there be any doubt that a country under a non-Muslim Government in which a Mahomedan cannot live with personal security and freedom to perform his religious duties, is Darul Harb. But it does not follow that a self-governing Muslim country passing into the hands of non-Muslim conquerors, or of the Dhimmeese rising against the Muslim Government, becomes by that fact alone Daru'l Harb. It turns into Daru'l Harb if it fulfils three conditions, namely, that the laws and regulations of the non-Muslims be enforced there ; that it should be surrounded by other countries answering the description of Daru'l Harb, without any country of the description of Daru'l Islam being contiguous to it ; and if no Muslim or Dhimmi, that is, a non-Muslim subject of a Muslim state, can live there, in the same security as under the previous Muslim Government. This is apparently the opinion of Abu Hanifa and adopted by the author of *Durrul-Mukhtar* as representing the law on the subject. The two disciples, however, hold that such a country would be called Daru'l Harb if the laws of the non-Muslims are promulgated there, so that neither hadd nor retaliation is enforced. If the laws of both are enforced, that is, non-Muslim laws for the non-Muslims and the Mahomedan law for the Mahomedans, the country will retain its character of Daru'l Islam. On a Muslim's country being conquered by the non-Muslims and turning into Daru'l Harb, it is lawful for the Muslim prisoners to oppose, and fight with them in every possible way. A Daru'l Harb, on the other hand, becomes Daru'l Islam if the ordinances of Islam may validly be promulgated there.

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(1) *Hedaya*, Vol. V, pp. 210-3.

One of the tests, as to whether a country should be treated as a Daru'l Harb or Daru'l Islam is, whether congregational prayers during Fridays and Ids should be held in the country. (¹). Under what circumstances, then, the holding of Friday prayers is allowed by the Mahomedan law? One of the conditions mentioned in the books is, that such prayers can be said only in a town where there is a governor and a Qadi to administer the laws and to enforce the punishment of hadd and retaliation. The author of *Hedya* says that this is the accepted law. According to Abu Hanifa, Friday prayers are to be held in a town where there are roads and markets, a governor who administers laws and redresses wrongs, and learned men to whom Mahomedans can resort for the solution of the difficulties of Shara or the Mahomedan Code. Another condition of Friday prayers is, that they must be held under order of the Sultan or of some person authorised by him in that behalf (²). If the non-Muslims who have conquered a Muslim country have appointed a Mahomedan governor, he may give such sanction. If the governor himself be a non-Muslim, it may be the interest of Mahomedans to obey him. In a self-governing Mahomedan country when the Sultan has appointed a non-Muslim governor, the Muslims of the place may hold Friday prayers, and the Qadi of that place will be regarded, although appointed by the non-Muslim governor, as if he had been appointed by the consent of the Muslims. But under such circumstances it is the duty of the Muslims to demand the appointment of a Mahomedan governor.'

Ibn 'Abdin then quotes a passsge from a commentary of Shaikh Isma'il of Delhi to the effect that when it is said that Friday

(1) *Radul-Mahtar*, Vol. iii, p. 275.
(2) *Hedaya* and *Fathu'l Quadir*, Vol. ii, p. 22.

prayers can only be held in a place where the Mahomedan laws are enforced, it does not mean that all the laws should actually be enforced, but that the governor or the Qadi should have the power to enforce them. It is also stated in the gloss of Abu Sa'-wood on a treatise by A'llamah Nur Effendi, that if actual enforcement of all the laws or, it may be added, enforcement of hadd and retaliation were a necessary condition, then Friday prayers could not be held even in any Mahomedan country at the present day; and therefore it is regarded as sufficient if the governor or the Qadi should, as already stated, have the power to enforce them. But it is necessary that most of the Mahomedan laws should be enforced.(1) The substantial idea running through the discussion of the jurists on this point seems to be, that Friday or 'Id prayers may be held in a place where the congregation will not be liable to molestation.

It may be observed here that the Friday and Id prayers are regularly held all over India and recognized to be validly held according to the Mahomedan Canonical Law. Further, the Mahomedans of India enjoy absolute protection of person and property and religious freedom, and their laws relating to religious institutions and usages and those governing family relations and succession and certain forms of transfer of property are enforced by the Anglo-Indian courts. Another convincing test that India under the present form of Government must be regarded as Daru'l-Islam is, that those Mahomedans who strictly follow the rules of juristic law regarding Riba do not feel themselves justified in taking interest on money advanced to non-Muslims.

As I have had occasion to point out, the Mahomedan Law, generally speaking, has two sides. In its worldly aspect, it is enforcible by the court; and in its spiritual aspect, it affects the conscience of every individual Muslim. The head of the Muslim state can obviously enforce Mahomedan law only within his own jurisdiction. A Mahomedan living within the territory of non-Muslims is required to conform, as far as is practicable for him to do so, to the rules and injunctions of the Mahomedan law and religion. If he violates them, he incurs religious guilt, and when he finds that he cannot stay in a particular non-Muslim country with safety of person and property nor discharge his religious duties there, he is expected to retire to his own state. If such a person finds that the non-Muslim Government actually interferes with his property and reduces his children to slavery or suffers it to be done, or is guilty of other similar acts of oppression, he would be justified in interfering with the lives and properties of the non-Muslim inhabitants of the place. The reason is, that the Government itself of the country of his adoption must in such circumstances be held to have been guilty of treachery towards him; for he could not have resided in an alien country without its express or implied permission, and it is always lawful for a Muslim according to his law to repel oppression. But otherwise, he must forbear from interfering with the non-Muslim Government and inhabitants of the country of his adoption, as that would be an act of perfidy on his part which the law absolutely forbids.

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(1) *Ibid*, Vol. i, p. 589.

SOME PECULIAR JOBS IN AMERICA.

By Mr. Jagannath Khanna.

THE readers of the *Hindustan Review* will indeed be puzzled to learn of these peculiar and wonderful jobs which are pursued by many a man in America. When a friend of mine, an American, of course, told me his business was "bottled smoke, " I was really at a loss to know what sort of the job this must be. He explained to me this as well as many others of the same puzzling nature. Besides this "bottled smoke," there are jobs like "cock roach shooer ", "saint maker", "rented letters", "second-hand tombstones," "undertaker's solicitors," "professional mourner", "oil-well shooter," "corporation psychologist," "burial fund collector," "tree faker," etc. These are few of the many such jobs, and I will try to explain to the readers what these jobs really are.

The dealers in "bottled smoke" have the packing house people for their customers. Instead of sending a boy into the "smoke house" to make the kind of fire, out of hickory chips, that will never blaze, they send a lot of men into the woods to turn a small forest into smoke, which is condensed till it becomes liquified, put into bottles and sold to packers and others who kill hogs where no trees are to be found. That enables people to cure their pork anywhere and with little trouble.

There is the second-hand tombstone dealer who comes to the aid of the first-hand dealer and uses the stones that have been thrown back on his hands. He runs a sort of misfit establishment. By polishing it down a bit and filling up the incisions with putty or cement, he manages to get up a good stone for those who want something that would otherwise be beyond their means. He buys at a low rate from the first-hand dealer and sells cheap but at an advance.

The solicitor for the undertaker plies almost as serious a trade. It is not known whether they stand in with the druggist or doctor, or not. They are almost always cheerful and tactful men, though somewhat grave in their tendencies. This solicitor for the undertaker is just like one for a lawyer who, not only watches to turn business in the direction of his employer, but makes it a point to stir up business. He does the same thing as the lawyer's solicitor, who frequently induces people of feeble or vindictive minds to go to law and to engage his employer to conduct their suits, when wisdom would suggest arbitration or oblivion for their troubles and expenses.

The professional juryman in this country is one of the well-known men around courts and police-stations. With no other way to make a living, he is ready to serve the community and play into the hands of the lawyers with whom he has the most interesting understanding.

We are already familiar with the professional mourners in India, and especially in the north of India. They can be hired in this country, too, or used to be hired. It is usually a woman, for attendance at funerals offers a mournful satisfaction to certain temperaments of the female sex, with the luxury of tears and the pleasure of expressing sympathy. These mourners formulate their grief and reduce mourning to a system. It is expressed by tearing the hair and clothes, weeping aloud and beating the breast and mouth, the latter enabling them to make a quavering sort of sound which would be warranted to plough up and harrow the feelings of the stoniest heart. The well-to-do only can afford to employ these professionals to mourn at the funerals of their kindred. Men "skilful in lamentation" and "mourners who go about the street", as they are called, are professionals who excite the envy of the amateurs and the eager improvidence of the poor.

There are found in Chicago some followers of the queer occupation called "cock roach guard." They are employed by factories to keep off the pests that are generated in the "garbage" or refuse dumps near these factories. They wear stars, as special policemen, and their official designation as protectors of factories from the incursions of the pests, is "cock roach guard." With his long cane and raw hide whip and a pair of eyes that are a combination of telescope and microscope, these bugs have about as much chance to get past this peculiar guard as a target to escape from the gun of a skilful Sikh soldier. He is "death to the invaders." In their present warfare in this country against the housefly, an occupation is offered combining both industry and ease as well as excitement. One man in this city of Pittsburgh, where I am studying, has killed 700 quarts of flies this season. His example will doubtless prove contagious, and his success will probably suggest, to those who can afford it, the starting of the new calling of fly-killer, like that of a rat-killer in India.

The "oil-well shooter" is one of the most useful men in the state of Texas. He is indispensable. When a man has dug a well and got down to the stratum above the oil itself, he sends for the "shooter," who comes with a load of nitro-glycerine in his buckboard, all the way from 30 to 500 quarts of it, the whole thing liable to explode any minute while he is bumping along in his wagon, and send him nearer to heaven than he has ever thought of. But he takes his chances, and if he reaches the place without being torn into fragments, he puts the stuff down into the well, lights a fuse and then takes to the tall timber. The only thing that is at all certain about the risky thing is, that it is sure to kill if it goes off while the man is in the same wagon with it even in the same neighbourhood.

There are, again, a select few who follow the business of "saint making." They are certainly cultured people who study the lives and characters of the old saints for the purpose of getting up models from which images are made for the eager trade.

The occupation of "business adviser" is a growing one in America. This "adviser" is called in when business is getting bad and he looks it all over to see what is the matter with it. He studies the plans on which it is run, learns the habits of the employees, the cost and income, and then advises how it can be improved, or recommends an assignment. He must be an expert to be able to grasp a business, and he has a chance to prove a useful man.

There are other lines of work more unique. Here is a man who made his living for a whole year, collecting money to bury men who had no relatives and were in imminent peril of being buried in potter's field or not being buried at all, but cut up by the doctors. Sympathetic people came to his aid with enough to make him a comfortable living a whole year, till he was arrested the other day in Chicago. Another man declared in court the other day that "sickness" was his occupation, and, when he insisted on it, got a nice sentence to the work-house in order to start him on a new career. He followed being sick as a vocation.

The deadbeat is a commonplace in this country, but his skill amounts to genius sometimes. The other day I read in a paper of a man who went to the undertaker and told him, his wife was dead and that he should hurry over to take charge of the body ; her mother would pay the bill, and he then asked him to lend him two dollars to wire to her relatives which he could put into his bill. On going to the place the undertaker found the woman face to face whom he would otherwise have buried.

There are still other unusual callings. We are here getting acquainted with new powers in nature that are to be utilised. The wastes of former years are being saved and new lines of work are growing out of them.

Collecting bee stings for medicinal purposes is an occupation which is being tried at present here. The sting is said to be a specific for rheumatism. The method of securing the stings in sufficient quantities to make it worth while, is a unique one. The bee is said to entertain a decided antipathy to horse, and the odour of the horse is said to be one of its pet aversions that is most disagreeable to it. The way to secure the stings is to take a blanket from a horse after it has become saturated with his odour, and put it around the hive of bees ; they will become indignant enough to attack the odorous thing with all the stings they have, and they invariably leave them in the blanket. Thus the shrewd businessman annexes the stings.

The "letter broker" rents out letters by the 5,000 or 10,000. He first buys them from large firms that have a wide correspondence and rents them to other firms that want the addresses of the people with whom they hope to open business. In this way he trebles or quadruples the first cost and some 300 per cent. ahead. He rents these letters to different houses or firms till they are too old to be of much use, when he asks the last renter to keep them with him. Subscription publishers and mail order houses are the chief renters of these letters.

THE REFORM MOVEMENT IN JAPAN.—I.

By Mr. R. G. Pradhan, B. A., LL.B, M. R. A S.

THE object of this article is to invite the earnest attention of my patriotic fellow-countrymen to a few important aspects of the Reform Movement in Japan. Though it is true that the history of every country follows its own peculiar course, and that, therefore, it would be both futile and foolish to blindly follow the methods of other countries without regard to our own circumstances, traditions and capabilities, yet, after all, the underlying principles of national evolution are the same in all ages and climes, and consequently, the experiences of other countries cannot fail to be full of value and instruction to us The Indian problem is, in all essential respects, the same that confronted Japan three generations ago, and is, at present, confronting other nations of the Orient, such as China and Persia. The goal which we have set before us, and towards the realization of which all our efforts are directed, is the regeneration of our mother-country, the remaking of her as a united self-governing progressive powerful nation fully qualified to take an equal rank with the advanced nations of the world. That was exactly the goal of Japan, and is, at present, the goal of China. The history of their efforts, to reach that goal cannot, therefore, fail to afford light in the solution of our problem.

Two things stand out in great prominence in the history of the Japanese movement for national reforms ; (1) The strenuous efforts the Japanese made to remove all internal evils and abuses, before they sought, and hoped to be able, to compete on equal terms with the Great Powers, and (2) the marked use they made of literature as an instrument of national education and enlightenment. The Japanese realized and consistently acted on the principle that so long as you are weak, cannot hold your own in the great international struggle, that however altruistic and forbearing you may be yourself, it would be too much to count on the same spirit of altruism and forbearance on the part of others, and that, therefore, the primary condition of power and success in life is to put an end to all that makes for your own weakness and become strong. Patience and forbearance are undoubtedly good things, but unless combined with strength, they are apt to be misunderstood as signs of weakness. When the European nations, ambitious and powerful, appeared on the scene and threatened Japan with the extinction of her national integrity, if she persisted in the policy of keeping them at arm's length and refusing to enter into treaty relations with her, her condition was far from satisfactory. The heavy weight of an outworn system of feudalism lay on her neck like a mill-stone. Class privileges and distinctions were rampant, and the most object submissiveness was exacted from the common people, so much so indeed, that if a commoner happened to pass by while a *Daimio's* procession was going, unless he showed his respect by objectly prostrating himself on the ground, he was immediately put to death. Public appointments were held only by the higher classes, and the masses were tied down to their inherited avocations and could change them only at the risk of life. A farmer or a merchant, whatever may be his capacities and inclinations must, for ever, remain a farmer or a merchant. Two centuries of rigid seclusion had kept the nation in the dark as to what was going on in the outside world. Foreign learning was most ruthlessly tabooed, and those who tried to study Western sciences and arts had to suffer the severest penalties, not excluding death. The *Daimios* or feudal chiefs were jealous of one another, and their constant squabbles and dissensions were a great obstactle on the path of national unification. Ignorance is the parent of pride and insolence, and though the *Daimios* and their retainers knew not what were the strength and resources of European Powers, they were, as a class, always animated by the greatset pride in their attitude towards the latter, and foolishly imagined that they could drive them away by sheer force. Their feelings towards them may be inferred from the fact that they always called them by the nickname of "Redhaired Barbarians." Such was the state of things when the call for intercourse came from the West, and had not Japan awakened to the needs of the time, and devoted herself heart and soul to the satisfaction of those needs, before it was too late, she would have, in all probability, met the same fate as India.

Rigidly shut out as Japan was, from the outside world for over two centuries, it was inevitable that she should have taken some time to realize the true nature and significance of the problem she was called upon rather suddenly to face. But as soon as the truth dawned upon her, she made up her mind that solution could come only through self-improvement. "Improve thyself," therefore, became the nation's motto. The Emperor, though young and inexperienced embodied in himself the national feeling and aspiration and soon after the Restoration, solemnly proclaimed in an oath he took before the court nobles, ministers and *Daimios* that "the old absurd usages and customs shall be abandoned, and knowledge sought for throughout the world." No oath could have been more loyally kept. One after another, in quick succession, the maladies that afflicted the nation, were cured. Feudalism and its attendant class privileges were abolished, mass and woman's education promoted, public appointments thrown open to all classes of people, religious toleration established, foreign travel and learning zealously encouraged. Laws were improved and codified, courts on Western lines established, the army and the navy strengthened and modernized, the system of conscription introduced, and the principle of free and compulsory primary eduation adopted. And when these beneficent reforms had revitalized the nation and made it stronger, better educated and better fitted for liberty, prefectural assemblies and a national Parliament were ultimately established.

Here is a lesson we ought to lay to heart Some of us are in the habit of severely criticizing the Government for not achieving the same amount of progress as the Japanese did during the brief span of half-a-century. The criticism is not quite undeserved. Nevertheless, we must clearly recognise the fact that in the present circumstances of India, it is too much to expect the governing authority to exert itself as strenuously for reform as the Japanese Government did. When we blame the Government for not doing their utmost to promote our national development, might they not retort, first, why their native predecessors left so many evils and abuses unremedied ; why, for instance, they did so little if at all for mass education and for social progress ; and secondly, what we ourselves are doing for the eradication of the many gross evils that afflict our society to-day ? A report like this is, no doubt, unworthy and undignified, but it will not be unnatural or irrelevant. Though we want the Government to introduce political reforms one after another in quick succession, whenever a reforming piece of social legislation is undertaken by the Legislature, some of us raise the foolish and false cry of Religion in danger, and attack the Government for their so-called interference with our social and religious customs and usages. The bane of India is not so much the alien character of her government, as her utter conservatism, her supreme vanity, her lack of the spirit of progress and union. Healthy conservatism which seeks to retain what is good in the old order, while trying to assimilate what is noble and life-giving in the new, is certainly a good thing, but our conservatism is simply blind and indiscriminating adhesion to what is ancient and traditional. Fallen though we are, we are puffed up with pride, and foolishly think that we have little, if at all, to learn from the Western nations. Instead of manfully and courageously grappling with the social abuses that infect our society, we are, for ever, seeking to inquire into their origin and explain them away, as if that is enough. We are intellectual giants but moral pigmies. Our thought soars high in the loftiest regions of abstract speculation, and we are great logicians and adepts in the art of hair-splitting, but our capacity for harmonizing action with thought is almost nil. The curious combination in us of lofty thought and mean action would, not unnaturally suggest the reflection whether, after all, too much acuteness of intelligence is a good thing, whether the better thing would not be to have a little less of intellectuality, but a greater measure of active and practical capacity. No country in the world presents a greater and more deplorable contrast between thought and action, between the ideal and the actual as India. And so long as this wide chasm is not bridged over, alas ! for her.

I hope, my readers will not misunderstand me, and form the erroneous impression that I hold the opinion that there should be no political progress whatever until and unless all the social evils that afflict our society are removed, and we attain to a state of social perfection. Progress is an organic and harmonious growth, and true progress in one direction of national life cannot but promote progress in other directions as well. But there are certain political institutions and conditions which imply a certain social and moral order, and cannot be successfully and permanently established without the previous existence of that order. Above all, I insist that the principle of progress should be consistently applied to all spheres of life, whatever may be the effects of such application upon the existing institutions, usages and beliefs. And also that a high level of national existence, no less than of individual existence, is impossible, unless the inner life of the nation is purged from every serious evil and abuse. Bad social customs, or false moral and religious nations react on political thought and ideals, and render a healthy and strong national life impossible. For instance, if you believe in the inherent and inviolable superiority of the Brahamans to all other classes, you will naturally desire all power to be exercised by them. Again, if you will hold that kings rule by divine right, you will favour absolute monarchy rather than constitutional government. But it is needless to multiply illustrations. The principle is so obvious that no one will dispute it at least in theory.

Dictates of reason as well as of prudence enjoin upon us that we ought to set our own house in order; before we can succeed in attaining to a high condition of national existence. The evils that afflict the Hindu society are manifold, but the principal ones are, our one-sided and pessimistic view of life, general crass ignorance of the masses, caste, early marriage, low position of woman, and priestly domination. These evils have sapped the life of the people and greatly impaired their capacity for progress, as the Hon. Justice Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has said in one of his recent addresses, "We are taught from childhood that this world is a delusion, a snare, and that the best thing to do is to get through it, somehow, bow and bond to Fate." Couples with this there is another one-sided notion, viz, that great men are more or less divinely inspired beings whose superior virtues merit praise and homage, but being the special gifts of God are absolutely unattainable by ordinary mortals, however hard and streonuous may be their exertions. These one-sided and mistaken views have made us pessimistic, apathetic, resigned to fate, parochial and selfish in our aims and interests, and lacking in self-reliance and strenuous exertion. The distinctions of caste have produced differences in ideals, aspirations, habits of thought, modes of daily life, and these, again, have proved a fertile source of mutual suspicions, misunderstandings, prejudices and bickerings. The pernicious influences of caste are so subtle and deep-rooted that they sometimes warp the judgment and vitiate the feelings of even the best minds among us. Some of us are great admirers of Mazzini and would like to follow in his footsteps. I am myself an ardent admirer of his and hold the opinion that a nobler soul and a truer patriot has seldom walked on this earth. But our young and enthusiastic disciples of that great man are simply carried away by his dreams of national independence and republicanism; they do not seem to have grasped his teachings as a whole. Here is what the Italian patriot says of the caste system: "When the men of India *believed* themselves to be born, some from the head, others from the arms, others from the feet of Brahma, their divinity, they organised society by a division of mankind into castes, assigning to the first the heritage of intellectual work; to the second, the business of war; to the third the servile labours, condemning themselves to an immobility which stlll endures and will endure while belief in this principle still exists." Tolstoy's advocacy of the rights of man and his strong condemnation of the evils of Western civilization are held up to admiration, but when, in reply to an Indian journalist, he described the caste system of India as having "manned her life," a popular paper in the Deccan, now defunct, curtly dismissed the criticism as the outcome of ignorance. Such are the fatuous inconsistencies into which our pre-conceived notions of caste lead us. The low position of our women has rendered many Hindu homes mere hotels for dining. Many an intellectual husband with higher ideals and aims has found a serious obstacle to the accomplishment of those ideals and aims in the ignorance and general pettiness of interest of his wife. While, to quote Tolstoy's word, caste has 'manned' the life of the nation, the general ignorance and the consequent narrow outlook of women has 'manned' the life of the Hindu family. Our custom of marrying boys and girls at an early age creates burdens and responsibilities to which they are not equal and produces an atmosphere highly injurious to physcial, intellectual and moral development. The ignorance of the masses is, of course, the crying evil of the day and is the fruitful source of superstition, chicanery and oppression.

All these evils must be removed, if India is to be rênovated and to attain to a worthy place in the great Federation of nations. Her dreams of national self-government and greatness will be no better than Utopias, so long as these evils continue to oppress her and weaken her powers. The opponents of our political progress will never cease to point to the abuses in our social polity as disqualifying us for self-government, and though we may not be sure that they will be willing to support our demand for self-government, even though those abuses are removed, in our own interests we are bound to see that we give them no legitimate ground for opposing our political development. I am not one of those who believe that as soon as we re-organize our social system on a sound and satisfactory basis, the British Government will spontaneously, of their own accord, grant us self-government. Our social regeneration will not, in and by itself bring us our political millenium. We shall have still to agitate and struggle for our political elevation. But our political agitation will be more effective and fruitful, when our adversaries can find no legitimate excuse or plausible pretext for withholding our political rights from us. Moreover, the hollowness and the injustice of their opposition cannot fail to be apparent to the civilized world, when we have, by the process of self-discipline and self-reformation, made ourselves fit for the enjoyments of these rights. And in the present condition of the civilized world, it is impossible for one nation to be altogether indifferent to the opinions and sentiments of other nations. When we have improved our social system and raised it to the standard of excellence required by the dictates of reason and justice, and the exigencies of modern life, we cannot fail to receive the moral support of the civilized world for our political movement, and then with such support and with our own persevering and self-sacrificing efforts that movement is bound to be irresistible and ultimately crowned with complete success.

BUDDHIST IDEAS IN SHAKESPEARE.

By Dr. Giuseppe de Lorenzo.

IN the monumental work of the complete translation of the *Majjhimanikāyo* into German by Karl Eugen Neumann *(Die Reden Gotamo Buddho's aus der mittleren Sammlung Majjhimanikāyo des Pāli-kanons zum ersten mal übersettzt, 3 vol., Leipzig, Friedrich, 1900-1902)*, there are many references to European laymen, who have sometimes expressed feelings or thoughts, in harmony with the sublime utterances of the Buddhist Law.

Such parallels, which to the vulgar would seem but useless doctrinal sport, are in truth of rich value and deep significance, for they show that the fundamental conceptions of Buddhism do not constitute an old Indian or new Asiatic abnormality (as some even to-day believe), but are universal and eternal truths, some of which were likewise perceived by one or another of the greatest men of Western lands, pagans or Christians ;—not priests alone, but artists, poets, thinkers, who with the clear vision of genius pierced some of the mysteries of the world and of life ; although rhe Awaked One alone had of life and of the world that vision full and perfect, whereupon He founded the sublime Doctrine which He declared for the deliverance of mankind.

It is not here the intention to re-call many of such thoughts or feelings of various writers : I will now only quote some passages from the ideal world created by Shakespeare. This greatest of all the poets of the earth, who, with perfect objectiveness and unsurpassed ideality reproduced life as reflected in the vast concave mirror of his genius, reveals to us much of that knowledge, which forms the foundation of the teaching imparted by the Tathāgata.

Sufficient for the present purpose is the first scene of Act III of *Measure for Measure*, where more than one passage recalls Buddhistic conceptions. There are verses, as the following, describing the obscure and fearful paths of our pilgrimages after death, which are like to descriptions in the Pali texts :

> Ay, but to die, and go we know not where ;
> To lie in cold obstruction and to rot ;
> This sensible warm motion to become
> A kneaded clod ; and the delighted spirit
> To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
> In thrilling region of thick-ribbed ice ;
> To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,
> And blown with restless violence round about
> The pendent world ; or to be worse than worst
> Of those that lawless and incertain thoughts
> Imagine howling !

This, truly, is a vision of the Samsāro, wonderfully expressed with winged words. And in such a vision it is not forgotten, that our life, our body, our existence too is revolved in this eternal turning, without beginning, without end ; an inevitable, sorrowful transmutation and impermanency :—

Reason thus with life :—
If I do lose thee, I do lose a thing
That none but fools would keep : a breath thou art,—
Servile to all the skyey influences,—
That dost this habitation, where thou keep'st,
Hourly afflict : merely, thou art death's fool ;
For him thou labour'st by thy flight to shun,
And yet run'st toward him still.

Do not these lines call to mind the well-known 'maranantam hi jivitam' of Dhammapada, v. 148 ?

Thou art not thyself ;
For thou exist'st on many a thousand grains
That issue out of dust.

Remember the axiom, so oft repeated in the dialogues of Buddha :—"n'etam mama, n'eso' ham asmi, na m'eso atta :—"This is not mine, this am I not, this is not myself." The impermanency of all things is a cause of sorrow, as is even signified in the following lines from the beginning of Act III of *Measure for Measure*:

Happy thou art not ;
For what thou hast not, still thou strivest to get,
And what thou hast, forget'st. Thou art not certain ;
For thy complexion shifts to strange effects,
After the moon. If thou art rich, thou'rt poor ;
For, like an ass whose back with ingots bows,
Thou bear'st thy heavy riches but a journey,
And death unloads thee. Friend hast thou none ;
For thine own bowels, which do call thee sire,
The mere effusion of thy proper loins,
Do curse the gout, serpig, and the rheum,
For ending thee no sooner. Thou hast nor youth nor age ;
But, as it were, an after-dinner's sleep,
Dreaming on both ; for all thy blessed youth
Becomes as aged, and doth beg the alms
Of palsied eld ; and when thou art old and rich,
Thou hast neither heat, affection, limb, nor beauty,
To make thy riches pleasant. What's yet in this
That bears the name of life ? Yet in this life
Lie hid one thousand deaths ; yet death we fear,
That makes these odds all even.

This is a stupendous picture of the first of the Four Noble Truths, *the Noble Truth of Sorrow*, that was also the fundamental theme of the song of other great poets : *Petrarca, Byron, Leopardi,* The perpetuity of change and alteration in the world is also described with magnificence in the famous lines of Act III of the *Second Part of King Henry IV* :

> O heaven ! that one might read the book of fate,
> And see the revolution of the times,
> Make mountains level, and the continent
> (Weary of solid firmness), melt itself
> Into the sea! and, other times, to see
> The beachy girdle of the ocean
> Too wide for Neptune's hips ; how chances mock,
> And changes fill the cup of alteration
> With divers liquors ! O, if this were seen,
> The happiest youth,—viewing his progress through,
> What perils past, what crosses to ensue,
> Would shut the book, and sit him down and die.

Likewise, almost in the same words, sang the Bhikkhu Talaputto in verse 1133 of the Therogatha. And, not only the continual transmutation, but the emptiness, the unreality of self in the world, the *maya*, is in Shakespeare wondrously expressed in *The Tempest* :

> And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
> The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
> And like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
> As dreams are made on, and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep.

So the Shakespearian vision of the world, begun with the knowledge of the law of causation, evolving in space and time, ends with this transcendental idealism.

From this subjectiveness of the world we are drawn to the subject itself, to man. And here Shakespeare, out of the changefulness and mutability of material things, finds the other causal chain of the intelligible character of man, the *Kamma*, which apart from influences of Gods or of high heaven determines the various vicissitudes of our life ; as is said in the second scene of Act I of *King Lear*.

"This is the excellent foppery of the world, that when we are sick in fortune often the surfeit of our own behaviour,—we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon and the stars ; as if we were villains by necessity, fools by heavenly compulsion; knaves, thieves and treachers, by spherical predominance ; drunkards, liars, and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influence ; and all that we are evil in, by a divine thrusting on : an admirable evasion of whore-master man, to lay his goatish disposition to the charge of a star !

These words precisely affirm the complete responsibility of man, for all his actions, who, without help at all of divine providence or grace, is left to himself, to his own powers. In these powers, in this complete responsibility for all his actions there is too for man the possibility of melioration, of redemption ; as is said in the first Act of *Othello* :

> "'Tis in ourselves that we are thus, or thus. Our bodies are gardens ; to the which, our wills are gardeners : so that if we will plant nettles, or sow lettuce, set hyssop, and weed up thyme ; supply it with one gender of herbs or distract it with many ; either to have it sterile with idleness or manured with industry ; why, the power and corrigible authority of this lies in our wills."

And so, with this power and by the aid of that capacity for culture that lies in our wills, we can also win to the last aim, the holy aim signalled by the Dhammo.

Such are a few of the multitudinous pearls from the sea of *Shakespeare's* creations—not indeed unworthy to shine in the great ocean of the Teaching of *Gotama Buddha*.

ARISTOTLE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE.

By Prof. P. A. Wadia, M. A.

AT the time when the Politics of Aristotle was first made known to the mediæval students, and even for many centuries after, the political environment was not favourable to a proper appreciation of the epoch-making work. It was only by degrees as the development of the modern state went on that the treatise began to be rightly understood, until at last even in its present incomplete and fragmentary condition we have learnt to recognise in it "the richest and greatest contribution of antiquity, or allowing for the difference of the times, perhaps the greatest of all the works we have upon political science." There is certainly no second work to be named in this field of inquiry which to an equal extent displays the rare combination of statesmanlike intellect, a scholar's acquaintance with history, and the observation of a man of science, with the philosopher's systematic arrangement of phenomena and keen penertration into their inmost nature. We propose to notice to-day a few leading conceptions that occur in the first book of this epoch-making work and which have a permanent interest for humanity.

It is necessary to preface our remarks by recalling to our minds some of the main points of distinction between the political conditions of the Greek world and those of our own days. In the first place, the Greek state was a city and not a nation. The largest of the old city states of Greece did not territorially exceed the area of a modern English county. Political life was so closely identified with the city that the same word was used by the Greeks for city and state. The citizen in a state like Athens took part in politics personally, not through a representative: an average Athenian citizen sat in the assembly which decided upon all important political issues, he had the right of voting at the election of all public offices in which the system of election by lot did not prevail, and one year or another he was called upon to fill one of the innumberable offices of the state. The bonds of reciprocal influence between the individual and the state which we can only believe in now, were in those days palpable facts, and the state had a vital interest in the character and education of its citizens.

In the next place, there was a fundamental point of distinction in the social organisation of the Greek state. The political life of Sparta or Athens rested on the basis of slavery. The select aristocracy of free citizens looked upon all professions as degrading, save that of serving the state and taking an active share in its management and administration. Agriculture, trade, industry, all these were relegated to the slaves or the foreigners who preferred to reside in the Greek city states, or to men of an inferior status who did not enjoy the full privileges of citizenship—like the Pereoci at Sparta. It does not require any great acumen to condemn a social organisation resting, like that of the Greeks, on slavery: but it is useful to remember that Greek civilisation, Greek sculpture, the Greek drama, and Greek philosophy, all that constitute the precious legacy of Greece to modern times, would have been impossible without the life of leisure which a social organisation like that of Greece alone rendered possible.

Finally, it must be remembered that the religious feeling of the Greeks were closely attached to the state. The state was not merely the guardian of his property, but the source of right and goodness to him, the director of his worship and guarded by the gods he worshipped. A Greek had no church distinct from the state. His state was also his church, fostering all his political and social virtues, all his highest ideals and aspirations, and alone affording an adequate scope for the realisation of those aspirations.

The very first question that Aristotle discusses is that of the origin of the state. The Sophists in their political discussion usually referred the beginnings of the state to a convention or contract: Plato had endeavoured to give a profounder explanation both in the Protagoras and in the Republic: it is almost by an accident that Aristotle comes to lay down his own views. The Politics opens with a reference to the Politicus of Plato, where it was said that the authority of the master over his household is the same as that exercised by the ruler over his state. To make such an identification is to deny the possibility of a separate science of politics. Aristotle, therefore, naturally endeavours to disprove this identity. He begins by dividing the state as a whole into its component parts, with a view to discovering its real nature and to distinguish the state from the household, which is one of these elements. But the analytic method soon gives way to a genetic method when we are told that to understand the state we must trace the development of its parts, from the individual to the household, from the household to the village, and from the village to the city or the state. The genetic method soon reveals the fact that the state is not made but developes naturally,—that men are not unsocial and unsociable creatures artificially brought together in a state, but sociable and associative beings naturally meant for political life.

The origin of the state is not to be sought in purposive human contrivance, it is of necessity or, in other words, of "nature": the state is natural and necessary, because the individual by himself cannot satisfy all his wants. To satisfy these wants, material and moral, an inevitable instinct drives man to take unto himself helpmates, first wife and servants, then fellow-villagers, finally fellow-citizens, till in the widest association he finds sufficiency, satisfies all his wants and realises himself. His wants thus prove to be his salvation, they goad him on in the direction of progress.

It was not long ago that the bequest of Mr. Cecil Rhodes placed Englishmen, Australians, Canadians and even Germans and Americans, on the common Anglo-Saxon festive board and denied to the Asiatic Indian [illegible] meanest morsel of the good cheer. All these facts lead the pessimist to infer that as India is today "the brightest jewel" in the Imperial crown, so shall it be for ever more. A *part* of that crown it will never be. An impossible loyalty is demanded from the Indians not to the home of Freedom, England, nor to its constitutionally bound King, but to that vague entity called an Empire, in which a most costly war was undertaken in defence of Uitlanders (or foreigners) against a foreign government, and at the end of it the sable Indian subjects of His Majesty are denied in that very country the rights which even the Uitlanders enjoyed before. And all for what? For the sake of the freedom of a Colony! Precious freedom forsooth!

But there is still a bright side to the picture. There is a heroic minority of optimists to whom the India of to-day presents a hopeful spectacle. Religious tolerance has already advanced so far that religious conferences have begun and ended without police interference. Melancthon's dictum that there is never a discussion about religion in which religion is not a loser, is well-nigh reversed. The part played by Luther in Western Europe has been played in Moslem India by Syed Ahmad Khan, who has not only been the messenger of a Moslem Renaissance but also of a Moslem Reformation. The students of his College and others with Aligarhite sympathies have come forward to refute the ugly charge that Islam was not preached with the *Koran* in one hand and a sword in the other. It is not of any practical importance whether Gibbon's epigram was the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. But it is of very great importance that the Musalmans of to-day cannot see the force of the syllogism offered for acceptance at the point of the bayonet. Whether Islam *was* preached with a sword or a lance or a Howitzer battery, or after all it spread throughout the world by means of a wonderful organization of Missions and Missionaries, it is certain that it *will* not be preached in the future with magazine rifles and a Krupp gun. For the Musalman of to-day has understood that the logic of the stronger hand is much feebler than the persuasiveness of a loftier mind and a purer heart. There will be no more idol-breaking, but a breaking in of the idol worshipper.

The Hindus are not lagging behind. Their young men and old, even if they have not yet given up *chhoot*, do not look upon the non-Hindu as a "dirty" person. New religious reformers have been throwing the glamour and charm of their eloquence on people to whom abstruse reasoning will not appeal. Hindu disciples of the German school are publishing for the benefit of the more thoughtful and critical student the *Sacred Books of the East*. The sublime Pantheism of the Hindu devotee fraternises with the mysticism of the Moslem *Sufi*. Even the common people who are incapable of grasping the true poetry of Pantheism, are discarding the *note me tangere* of the caste system which they are beginning to regard as an adventitious institution. The success of the Brahmo movement, even if that uninspired and uninspiring faith lacks the undying association of many epochs and epoch-makers, has been marvellous and is an earnest of better things to come. The young Barrister or Civilian who has crossed "the black water" and dined at the same table with Musalmans and Christians, brings into this shifting panorama a new and powerful element. Personal disappointments and political grievances are apt to make him a little unjust. But in his heart of hearts he will own that the idea of patriotism, which neither Asoka nor Budha, neither Akbar nor Aurangzeb dreamed of, has been the great gift of that nation of patriots, Old England. The patriotism of the English with its political tolerance, compromise and self-sacrifice, infects him with no less force than the Englishman's love of liberty.

باز هواے و طنم ارزوست sang the Indian dancing-girl at the court of her captor the ruthless Tamerlane, and it touched even that heart of stone.

بوئے یار مہرباں آید همے * یاد جوئے مولیاں اید همے
شاہ سرواست و بخارا بوستاں * سرو سوئے بوستاں آید همے
شاہ ماہ است و بخارا آسماں * ماہ سوئے آسماں آید همے

Such were the words of *Rodki* and such was their effect that the king of Bokhara, who had spent more than a year in the beauteous scenery of a foreign country, sent for his horse at once and started with only one shoe on his foot, without a moment's preparation, with the whole of his home-sick army towards that tiny and perhaps dirty rivulet the جوئے مولیاں Is it strange, then, that an Indian youth, separated from all those near and dear to him for three or four long years, at an age when human sentiments are truly noble, if they are not utterly ignoble, and thrown among strange people, refrain from indulging in the remembrance of the old country or refuse to outstretch over the ashes of centuries of ill-feeling and rankling hatred, the hand of amity and friendship to a fellow-countryman worshipping other gods than his own? The love of *place* natural to its inhabitants, no matter how savage, is liberalized in the political atmosphere of England into a love of its *people*. "Weakness never need be falseness, truth is truth in each degree." Shall we laugh, then, at the enthusiasm of the Bengali poet who wrote an Indian National Anthem even if the music be a reproduction of "O Marguerite! You don't known how I love you"? The Common misfortunes of plague and famine, if not the common enjoyments of peace and security, are teaching us the need and utility of common aims and a common action which were unknown to the Nauratan of Akbar. There was, no doubt, an element of disintegration rather than of Unity in the Indian Princes. For one Sayaji Rao we have a hundred of—the other sort. Never was there a better chance for attaching the sympathies and devotions of millions of their subjects offered to the Princes of India. Ages of autocracy had made us look up to the autocrat as a child does to the mother. Never was there more sincere, more intense, nay even more unreasoning and blind, loyalty offered to any king or emperor. And never was there a chance so rich in consequence, so full of hope and promise, ignored and allowed to pass away. The inevitable result of many follies was seen by a vast assemblage of people when on the first day of January, 1903, the scions of noble houses, descendants of independent rulers, stepped down from the position of *Allies* of the British to that of *Lords temporal* of the land. *Feudal* India was being turned into *Federal* India.

The Eurasians, again failing to be recognised by the more doubtful parent, are now claiming kinship with the unmistakable parent and the country of their birth. Even the Anglo-Indians, who have settled down in the larger stations of the plains and the hill-stations of the Himalayas, taught by experience, that "trophy made up of weapons that have hurt us," are coming round and throwing in their lot socially and politically with that of the country of their choice. Self-interest is succeeding where sentiment failed before. "The birds of passage" too are not silent. The representative not only of the Sovereign but also of the people who lift and uphold his throne, making,—we hope—the wish father to the thought, spoke last year of the Durbar on which he had set his heart :—"The people of India learned that they were not scattered atoms in a heterogeneous and cumbersome mass, but co-ordinate units in a harmonious and majestic whole. The scales of isolation and prejudice and distrust fell off from their eyes, and from the Arab Sheikh of Aden on the west to the Shan Chiefs of the Mekong on the borders of China, they felt the thrill of a common loyalty and the inspiration of a single aim.........The sound of the trumpets has already died away, the captains and the kings have departed, but the effect produced by this overwhelming display of unity and patriotism is still alive and will not perish."

It is good to believe all this. But even if it is not the *actual*, but only an unachieved *ideal*, it is still an elevating ideal. More practical and sober, if a little colourless, was the advice which the Viceroy gave to the rulers and the ruled. He told a council in which sat the representatives, in a measure, of both classes that the *Government* is not the *State*, and that the latter is not the organisation of a foreign power but a social organism of co-ordinate units. He referred to the foriegn relations of India and said that the present circumstances "demand above all a feeling of solidarity and common interest among those—and they include every inhabitant of the country from the raja to the ryot—whose interests are wrapped up in the preservation of the Indian Empire, both for the sake of India itself and for the wider good of mankind." How far this feeling of solidarity exists to-day may be uncertain. How far the rulers and the ruled are advancing to meet each other may be doubtful. But it is certain that if this feeling came to exist and the Englishman and the Indian recognised each other as co-ordinate units in "a harmonious and majestic whole," India would be for *the first time* a Nation. If at the Delhi Durbar there was one shout of welcome more sincere than another, truer than that which hailed the great Pro-Consul, more loyal than that which greeted Royalty, it was the deafening cheer which brightened faces shrivelled with age and many sorrows, and gave to the scars from the rebel's swords the glow of glory that does not die. All creeds, all colours, all races rose with one accord to honour the brave veterans as they marched past the Imperial Assemblage. The pathetic strains of "Auld Lang Syne" revived not the old qarrels of Englishmen, Rohillas, Mahrattas and Sikhs, but the undying memory of that never-to-be forgotten time when some men of every faith and race in India fought side by side with the men of Chester and York, Edinburgh and Dublin, against the scum of Indian population, and reaping a common glory shared the soldier's common grave.

In domestic politics too the outlook is not less cheerful. India is not yet prepared for Liberty. It may not be prepared for Equality. But it is to-day—as it has always been—ready for the third of that noble trinity—the Fraternity that is indispensable. It is said that the Roman soldier was more important for Rome's dominions than the Roman General. We may say to-day that the British Viceroy is not more important for our purposes than the British citizen. It is not on the magnanimity of individual Englishmen that India can rely. "Men may come and men may go." Ripons and Reays, Northbrooks and Curzons, are subject to the ruthless laws of mortality. It is on the character of the British nation that India bases its expectations. If that character is gone or changed, if it loses that love of fairness which helped it to make "the most extensive and the only honourable conquests, not by destroying but by promoting the wealth, the number and the happiness of the human race," who knows then how much of this vast and renowned Empire might vanish as dust? In the words of Burke, "English previleges have made it what it is. English privileges alone will make it all it can be." An autocrat without a constitution may be able to govern an Empire not only colonial but having large dependencies. But a *people*, the very breath of whose nostrils is representation, cannot rule over it without popular control. An English Minister who shows often unmerited jealousy of an English King's privileges, comes out to India as the head of an autocratic Government and demands an enthusiasm and a loyalty from the subjects as the representative of the Emperor. Will reasoning subjects tolerate for long this double position of the King-Emperor, powerless as a King except in moral persuasion, irresponsible and autocratic in all things as an Emperor?

The failure of Rome's Empire has a great lesson to teach us. "The true key to the declension of the Roman Empire," says Coleridge, "may be stated in two words—*the* IMPERIAL *character overlaying and finally destroying the* NATIONAL." The fate of America at the present juncture hangs on the final decision whether the Fillipino is to remain a *subject* or to be a *citizen*. With us too the problem of problems is whether our ideal should be *efficiency of administration* or *the education of the people for self-government*. After all is said and done, the problem is a simple one. It is not to be decided by the wisdom of great minds but by the purity of good hearts. Burke did not say without truth that "Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom: *and a great empire and little minds go ill together*." We do not want the miserable cant of the politician, nor the tempting jingle of words from the orator.

> Ah! God, for a man with heart, head, hand,
> Like some of the simple great one gone
> For ever and ever by,
> One still strong man in a blatant land,
> Whatever they call him what care I,
> Aristocrat, democrat, autocrat, *one*
> *Who can rule and dare not lie.*

Our religious differences will not now interfere with political unity. Though the godless scientific materialism which mistakes comfort for civilization, has not yet enthralled us wholly and though athiesm is not yet a diploma of respectability, and blasphemy not yet a virtue, we have learnt to appreciate the truths common to all religions and to recognise the sincerity without which no faith can subsist.

> Rain; rain and sun; a rainbow on the lea;
> And this is truth to me, and that to thee;
> And truth or clothed or naked let it be.

We still need the common platform of a national literature. No student of mediæval history need be reminded that Europe was far more united then than it is to-day. It certainly was an age of barbarism and feudal warfare which made sanctuaries the benefit of the clergy and chivalry with its narrow code of justice a dire necessity.

The *Treuga dei* had to be preached to mitigate the horrors of constant fighting. But all Latin Christendom could descry the will of God in the appeal of Urban II at Clermont and be made one in the shout of "*Deus Vult*", "*Deus Vult*", because the language of the appeal and of the response to that appeal was the Latin tongue common to all. Such a union of divergent interests is impossible to-day in spite of a greater need of unity. But even now America and England can clear a political misunderstanding much more easily than England and "the fatherland." The fact is that the language of the Declaration of Independence was none other than "the tongue that Shakespeare spake." The followers of Washington could have said without the least violation of the sentiment of independence,

> We must be free or die, who speak the tongue.
> That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold,
> That Milton held.

And in these words would have lain the key both to the revolt of the American colonies against the mother country and to the amity existing to-day between the United States of America and the United Kingdom. We too need a common *lingua Indica* to give expression to the common national sentiment. Let us hope that we may solve this problem satisfactorily in the spirit of amity and compromise and supply a national language for a national poet who may find in the destiny of united India sufficient inspiration for his muse. Some day a genius may rise to claim the birth-right of the born poet and not caring who made her laws, have the making of India's ballad. He may sing of the united forces of British Indians "in battle array,

> Ready in heart and ready in hand,
> Marching with banner and bugle and fife
> To the death, for their native land."

"Peace has her victories no less than war", and he may take up the shepherd's reed to sing of the blessings and joys of "piping peace."

But let us not mistake that the task of consolidation is easy. It is very difficult and still more delicate. The embers of hatred and narrow jealousies are still glowing under the ashes. But no great task has ever been easy. Where would be the glory if the task was easy enough for children? All this talk would be a mere waste of words and printer's ink. The work *is* difficult. Let us then raise ourselves to the magnitude of its difficulty and become worthy of the cause. I adopt the spirit of Disraeli's Imperialism and almost his very words. That we may live to see India be a worthy and integral portion of our Empire and possess a privileged and prosperous people is my prayer ; that these great consequences can only be brought about by the united energy and devotion of our youth is my persuasion. The claims of the future are represented by the disunited millions of to-day and the youth of a nation are the trustees of posterity.

MOHAMMED ALI.

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THE FUTURE OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

A REPLY.

I must apologize for writing at such a late date a reply to Mr. Banerjea's article on the 'Future of Christianity in India' in the December number of this review. The fact is that the article had already been in print for some time, before it was brought to my notice. But late though I am, I believe the question is of such general public interest, that it will be better to write now than not at all. Mr. Banerjea has given us a bright and most readable discussion of a most important problem. He has expressed, I believe, the opinion of the average Hindu at the present moment on this great question, and he has shewn considerable acuteness in the statement of his convictions. But, unless I am greatly mistaken, he has vastly understated the evidence. Christian though I am, I believe I could make out a much stronger case than he has done for the ultimate triumph of Hinduism in India.

Consider the gigantic strength of this ancient faith as it stands within its seemingly impregnable fortress of caste. Think of the slow sure growth of this vast tree, the immovable stability its gnarled trunk shows to-day, and the myriad branches it has thrown out through this great continent. Think of the power Hinduism has shewn to adapt itself to new circumstances, its unequalled elasticity and all-embracing comprehensiveness, and the amazing way in which it has drawn back into itself sects that had once won independence. How many fierce shocks has it withstood! How many furious tempests has it weathered! It had not yet completed its vast task of subduing the aboriginal tribes of northern India to Brahmanical sway, when Buddhism arose; yet in spite of Asoka and his missionaries and of the labours of countless kings and myriads of monks, Hinduism won the day. Then Jainism rose to great influence in the west and south and dominated the land for a time. But that too had to yield to this seemingly unconquerable power. Mohammedanism vanquished the country politically, and succeeded in drawing thousands of Hindus to itself by various means; yet in spite of its lofty monotheism and its many other points of advantage, it utterly failed to vanquish the ancient religion. And since then, how many reformers have started new sects, which have threatened to devour the mother from which they sprang; and yet all have fallen back one by one into her irresistible embrace. Christianity will conquer India? What nonsense! Christianity has been here since the second century at least; it has had its own community on the Malabar coast ever since: if it was to conquer, why did it not conquer long ago? It gave its stories to decorate the youth of Krishna and to add interest to the Puranas, and took its place among the other faiths at the court of Akbar; yet it has never been anything but a poor, weak exotic in the clime of Hinduism. How can this foreign religion, which refuses to make the slightest compromise, which will recognize no rival, and will acknowledge nothing outside its own Scriptures as authoritative,—how will it ever even seriously disturb the peace of the ancient autochthonous faith of India with its limitless receptivity and its perfect toleration? Think of the love and pride which Hinduism inspires in the hearts of the millions of India; recall its literature, its traditions, its temples, its ceremonies, its gods; remember that there is scarcely a spot from north to south, or from east to west, that is not hallowed by its sacred memories; realize the fact that from it has sprung the whole social system of the Hindu people, that it is intertwined with every fibre of national, social and family life; then put beside it this western church with its few wretched converts, drawn over, consciously or unconsciously, by the overmastering force of the superior wealth, civilization and education of the conqueror, and tell me which of the two is destined to dominate the future life of India! Surely, every one must recognize that this poor, weak sprout, so daintily tended and carefully sheltered to-day by the missionaries, will be inevitably and irretrievably blasted, when the first wild storm arises in the politics of India.

Some such statement might very well be put forward to prove that the Christianization of India is a mad dream; and every one who knows the history of India will acknowledge that the facts about Hinduism are very little, if at all, overstrained in the above paragraphs. Yet we would fain ask the readers of this magazine to suspend their judgment. One half of the evidence has been given, but the other half has not been so much as mentioned. Let us see what the facts are on the Christian side.

Mr. Banerjea's paper was called out by the comments made by Christians on the Census returns for 1901; and what he tried to do was to show that the great increase which these returns shew had taken place in the Christian population of India during the decade 1891-1901 was not likely to continue indefinitely. Now, we may first of all point out that the facts are more startling than Mr. Banerjea seems to think them. Christianity has been in India since the second century; Catholic Missionaries have been here since the sixteenth century, and Protestant Missionaries since the beginning of the eighteenth; that is all very true; but there is no mistaking the fact that a new force began to make itself apparent in the nineteenth century. It is no isolated and incidental phenomenon that the latest Census returns show : as Messrs. Risley and Gait point out in their first volume, there has been great and continuous increase for thirty years at least. The following are the percentages given :—

From	1871-1881	Christians	increased	22·0	per cent.
„	1881-1891	„	„	33·9	„
„	1891-1901	„	„	30·8	„

Taking the thirty years as one period, the increase is 113·8 per cent. Further, as they point out also, these figures include the European, Eurasian and Syrian communities. If these were eliminated, the rate of increase would be still higher. Another point which is not noted in the Census Report is this, that the Protestant Churches have grown much more rapidly during these thirty years than the Roman Catholic Church. The great bulk of the increase in the number of Christians in India during these years is due to the conversion of Hindus and others to Protestant Christianity : that is absolutely plain from the Census tables.

Yet, though the great increase which the last Census has brought so prominently before us is no mere temporary leap due to a momentary and accidental combination of forces, as Mr. Banerjea would have us believe, but a continuous and progressive movement due to forces which Hindus would do well to get to understand. Yet we freely acknowledge that such a set of figures extending over a paltry thirty or fifty years provide no argument which a thinking man would for a moment accept as good ground for believing that Christianity will ultimately conquer Hinduism. If that were all we had to put forward as ground for our confidence, we should be foolish men indeed if we expected to be able to make others share our confidence. But this is far from being the chief ground of our reliance : it is the whole character and history of Christianity in the world that we rely upon ; and these figures are to us eloquent only because they are parallel with phenomena which have accompanied the life of Christianity wherever and whenever it has been healthy.

What we wish to do, then, in this article is to make Hindus realize the historical characteristics of Christianity as an aggressive religion. We shall bring forward the evidence under three main heads.

1. THE POSITION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE WORLD TO-DAY.

Christianity is already the religion of one-third of the population of this earth. It already stands supreme. No religion has ever had so many adherents; no other religion approaches it in numbers. Equally noticeable is the remarkable speed with which it spread throughout the nineteenth century. In 1800, when the population of the world was in round numbers 1,000 millions, there were 200 millions of Christians; i.e. about one-fifth of the whole population of the world. To-day the population of the world is estimated at 1544 millions, and the number of Christians is 534 millions; that is more than one third of the whole. Perhaps a table will make these facts more vividly clear :—

	POPULATION OF THE WORLD.	CHRISTIANS.	PERCENTAGE.
1800 ...	1,000 millions ...	200 millions	20 per cent.
1900 ...	1,544 " ...	535 "	34 "

What will the percentage be in 2000 A. D. ?

Equally striking is the fact that this growth has been in every part of the world, one might say in every nation of the world, in some places less, in others more, yet everywhere; so that Christianity has proved itself capable of adaptation to every climate and to every race of mankind. From Greenland to Terra Del Feugo, from Manchuria and Japan to the islands of the South Pacific, from Madagascar to Morocco, in Asia, Africa, America and Australasia, the Cross has been going steadily forward. No other religion has ever possessed this capacity in the same degree. Buddhism and Mohammedanism have displayed wonderful powers of expansion, but they can shew nothing comparable to the world-wide increase of the Christian faith. In all this there is indicated, in the clearest way possible, a mighty tendency within Christianity to become the universal religion of the world. For it is spreading not only in savage and semi-savage lands, but in the face of the greatest non-Christian civilizations of the world. It is leaping forward in China and in Japan, as well as in India. The increase in the number of Christians in India during the decade 1891-1901 is not an isolated phenomenon, but is part of a world-wide movement. To explain it in India is not sufficient: we want an explanation for the forward march of this faith in every land.

II. THE EARLY HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

Christianity sprang from the open grave of a crucified man. Christ was a Jew, a carpenter. He spent three years in active public life, and then was seized by His fellow-countrymen, handed over to the Romans, and put to death with every circumstance of hatred and shame. What religion ever had such an unpromising start? Yet the faith in His name spread in His native land after His death much more rapidly than before; and not only there, but leaped to other lands, and speedily filled the Roman empire with the name of the crucified. Thirty-five years after His death, the Roman historian Tacitus tells us "an immense multitude" of Christians were put to death in Rome itself with the grossest barbarity. In spite of its most unpromising start, in spite of the most violent opposition on the part of the ancient race, religions of Europe, Asia Minor and Africa, and in spite of the persistent persecution of the imperial power of Rome itself, Christianity conquered, and became the religion of the west.

Indians are accustomed to belittle the philosophic and religious thought of Greece in comparison with India. I have heard Indians say, "The Greeks were idolators; they had no religion worth speaking of." This no doubt is an extreme opinion; yet most Hindus have got the idea that there is little in Greek philosophy or religion worth comparing with Hinduism. Now it is quite true that the Upanishads possess certain speculative and devotional qualities scarcely reached by any production of the Greek mind, yet, in every other respect, Greek thought is the more incisive, convincing and pervasive. One fact alone ought to suffice to bring this home to the mind of present-day Indians, namely this, that western education is in temper and method purely Greek. Its contents and its spirit are largely Christian, but the form of its thought and the lines of its scientific investigation are altogethor Hellenic. The fact that this western education has completely supplanted the ancient Hindu system, and that every cultured Indian wishes to see it much further extended in India, is final proof, if proof were needed, of the potency and value of Greek thought. Nor is this peculiar potency confined to the purely intellectual sphere, to mathematics and logic, to natural science and psychology; it has proved very penetrative and vigorous in the moral and spiritual region as well; the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles, the odes of Pindar and the dialogues of Plato have played almost as great a part in their own way as the syllogism of Aristotle or the theorem of Euclid. This will not seem strange to any one who realizes that Greece dominates the world not only in educational method but in all the fine arts as well. The Hindu will in course of time come to see how much the modern world owes to Hellas.

To scoff at the Greeks as idolators is peculiarly inept. The Hindu to-day is only echoing a common Greek reflection, when he says, "We do not worship idols: we think of the Divine Being when we bow before the image." It may be safely said that only the most ignorant savages can have ever identified the image with the god: indeed that identification is scientifically distinguished from ordinary image-worship as fetishism. The Egyptians, Babylonians, Greeks and Romans always spoke of their gods as quite distinct from their images; and each of these great nations had its monotheistic philosophy which the educated man brought forward when charged with the worship of many gods. Yet these are the very nations against which the Old Testament pours forth its thundering condemnations of polytheism and idolatry. They were polytheists and idolators in precisely the same sense as modern Hindus are.

Thus if we say that the ancient Greeks, while differing from the Hindus, were on the whole their equals in the higher activities of the human spirit, we shall certainly not be guilty of exaggeration. Then, when the Roman, with his practical genius, his legal mind and his governmental experience, had taken the religion, the thought and the culture of the Hellenic world under his protection, the result was a political organization of iron strength, inspired with the loftiest ideas which the human mind had thus far reached. Against Christianity this organization used its full strength, and displayed all the riches of its vast inheritance from the past. Every feeling that is natural to the conqueror and to the philosopher, face to face with a vanquished and unspeculative race, arose in the mind of cultured Greeks and Romans, when Jewish preachers presented the crucified Messiah to them. Imagine all the pride and self-confidence of the ruling Englishman in India united with the self-conscious superiority of the philosophic Brahman, and you will have something like what the educated Roman felt when confronted with Paul and his story of the crucified. Nor must we limit our thought to these alone. The Egyptian had a history behind him to which the histories of Greece and Rome were but brief modern stories ; and while his religion, with its idolatry, quackery and filth, had in some respects fallen as low as the worst forms of Hinduism have ever fallen, yet in its higher aspects and in its literature it was a noble faith, quite sufficient to stir its devotees to patriotic resistance to an alien system. These were the most vital elements in the life of the West at the time, but there were, besides, numerous other races whose traditions and culture led them to fight Christianity to the uttermost.

It is also of importance to realize that in form and spirit Hinduism is on a level with the ancient religions of Greece, Rome, Egypt and the rest. In all books on the science of religions they are classed together as national polytheisms. The characteristic features of such a faith may be briefly stated. In each case it was the traditional religion of a nation which had risen to a considerable place in history, and was proud of its life and its culture. The gods were formed into some sort of monarchical system, there being usually one or a triad recognized as supreme. Only those born of the blood were allowed to share in the proud privilege of the worship of the national gods: and such worship was not only a religious privilege, but also a political duty : a man was bound to conform ; otherwise he was a bad citizen. These religious privileges were closely intertwined with social privilege and duty. Only those who belonged to the sacred blood could eat with each other or intermarry: such was the original idea. In some cases the community within which these restrictions were maintained was a narrow one, such as a clan; in other cases it was wide, extending to the whole nation. Orthodoxy consisted, not in belief, but in submission to the social order of the community and in participation in the rites of religion. In most cases belief was altogether free. Men might openly laugh, as Cicero did, at the superstitions of their religion; yet, if they conformed to rule and custom, they were good citizens and religious men. In the loftier of those religions, e.g. those of Babylonia, Egypt and Greece, we find speculative systems which addressed themselves to the many cultured men who failed to find satisfaction for their spiritual instincts in the ritual and social ceremonial of the popular faith. Those who have not studied the subject had better look into some manual of the science of religion, or the relevant chapters in Benjamin Kidd's *Western Civilization.* Thus the foe which Christianity has to meet to-day in India belongs to the same general class as those which it met and vanquished so long ago. Hinduism is in some respects the most perfect specimen of the class; for in none of the others was the social system ever so elaborately developed as it is in Hindu caste. In this particular point it is a more formidable foe than any ancient faith; yet, to counterbalance that advantage, it has nothing to correspond to the omnipotent Roman state, which took the paganism of Europe under its protection and used all its strength to destroy Christianity.

Let Hindus, therefore, realize that Christianity met and conquered in the early centuries an enemy quite as great as Hinduism, an enemy, too, in many respects similar to Hinduism. The fact that it overcame in its weakness the greatest race religions of the West creates a presumption that in its strength it will conquer the race religion of India.

III. THE CHARACTER OF THE STRUGGLE.

I have tried to shew above that in its essential features Hinduism is a religion of the same class as the mighty faiths of the West which Christianity conquered in its youth. But it may be still more impressive, if we shew that the struggle which is at present in progress in India between Christianity and Hinduism is in its leading features practically identical with the struggle which the Roman empire witnessed during the first four centuries of our era. The correspondence is so close as to be startling; and we trust the readers of this magazine will look into the matter with care. Nor is that all. In the teaching of Christ, as it stands in the Gospels, we have numerous prophecies of the way in which His teaching will be received in the world; and I am sure every careful reader will be deeply interested to find how clearly the main features of the history of our faith were foreseen by our Master. Here then we take up one by one the outstanding features of the struggle:—

(1) FIERCE OPPOSITION ON THE PART OF THE OLD FAITH.

One of the most noteworthy aspects of the life of Christ is this, that He was constantly in conflict with the official leaders of the Jews, and that before He had completed the third year of His activity as a preacher, they seized Him and got the Roman Governor to crucify Him. Judaism opposed Christianity from the very outset.

Quite as noticeable is the fact that He warned His disciples again and again that they would be hated, slandered, persecuted, put to death. These prophecies and warnings are found on His lips from the beginning to the end, in the Beatitudes themselves, in His instructions when He sent the Apostles out to preach, at the great crisis at Caesarea Philippi, and in His last consolatory utterances :—

> " Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake " . Matt. , 5, 11.
>
> " And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake " . Matt. , 10,22.
>
> " If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever woud save his life shall lose it ; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, shall save it " . Mark, 68,34-35.
>
> " They shall put you out of the synagogues ; yea, the hour cometh, that whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service unto God " . John, 16,2.

How fully these prophecies were fulfilled in one way or another in the case of the Apostles themselves, I need remind no one who has read the New Testament. The Jews from the first opposed Christianity by every means in their power, and from them more than from others Christ's immediate disciples suffered. But so early as 64 A. D. under the emperor Nero, the Roman fury burst forth on the infant Church in a tempest of blood, fire and every form of torture. Thereafter at irregular intervals for two centuries and a half, the Roman Government exerted all its strength to put down Christianity by violent persecution. But what it is of most consequence for us to realize is this, that while persecution was fitful, there was the bitterest and most persistent opposition offered to the new-faith continuously, from the very beginning down through the centuries, and that it did not cease even when Constantine gave the Church a great place in the empire. Men hated Christianity violently; spoke against it ; wrote against it ; worked against it. Lucian made it the butt of his ridicule ; Celsus wrote a most elaborate treatise to prove it a false and worthless system ; and Porphyry the Neo-Platonist devoted a great work in fifteen books to the same end. One has only to look into the literature of those centuries to see how vehemently those who were leaders in politics, in society and in literature, hated the Church and her teaching, and with what relish they condemned the Christian preacher and all his ways, when they deigned to mention him at all. Prof. Ramsay in *The Church and the Roman Empire*, p. 352, thus sums up popular feeling against Christians:—

> "The combination of so many and various faults, combined with the power given them by their close union, and the fear which mingled with and embittered the general hatred, rendered them pre-eminently the object of popular duty; it seemed absurd to apply to such people any ordinary judicial process. Hence the Flavian proscription, which treated them like brigands, met with general approval. One cry alone was adequate to the case—*Christianos ad leones* (i.e., the Christians to the lions!)"

Thus the opposition of Hinduism to Christianity to-day, so far from dispiriting the Christian or making him doubt the final triumph of his faith, is one of the greatest encouragements possible. Everything that Mrs. Besant, the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, or any other Hindu individual or society, can do in opposing the progress of our faith, is simply another fulfilment of our Master's prophecy, is simply another proof that we are working along the right lines. The bitter persecution which every faithful convert from Hinduism has to undergo to-day only strengthens his faith in the Master for whose sake he suffers; he is in the sacred succession, condemned, slandered, tormented, as Christ, the apostles and the martyrs were.

(2) EXTREME CONTEMPT FOR THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The fury of hatred, fear and opposition with which the peoples of the ancient world met Christianity was most curiously mixed with *contempt*.

Christ Himself was "despised and rejected of men": the Jewish leaders expressed their scorn for Him in many a biting phrase:—

"A friend of publicans and sinners"; "Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan and hast a devil?" "He casts out devils by Beelzebub the prince of the devils." "Hath any of the rulers believed on him, or of the Pharisees?" They considered the cross the only fitting death for such an one; and they stood round Him as He hung there, and jeered at Him.

Christ also foresaw that his followers would be despised, and would in consequence be tempted to desert His cause. Consequently He warned them that they would have to endure shame for His sake:—

> "For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous generation, the son of man also shall be ashamed of him, when he cometh in the glory of his father with the holy angels." Mark, 8, 38.

Paul sums up the experience of the apostolic band in the following vivid words:—

> "For, I think, God hath set forth us the apostles last of all, as men doomed to death: for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels and to men.

.... We are made as the filth of the world, the offscouring of all things, even until now." 1 Corinthians, 4, 9 and 13.

The scorn which Christian teaching excited is pithily expressed by Paul in the words, "We preach Christ crucified, unto Jews a stumbling block and unto Gentiles foolishness"; and in many other passages in the New Testament the disdain which was heaped on the ordinary Christian of those days is vividly reflected.

Nor was this experience confined to the Apostolic age. For centuries the leaders of Greek and Roman society felt and shewed the most unmingled contempt for Christianity. Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius dismiss it with a scornful phrase. Sometimes this contempt found expression in such language as Celsus used, when he suggested that the Gospel was only for "simpletons and low-born people and blockheads and slaves and womenkind and children"; but more often it led them to altogether ignore Christians and Christianity. Gibbon, speaking of the great writers of the first and second centuries, says:—

"Their language or their silence equally discover their contempt for the growing sect, which in their time had diffused itself over the Roman empire. Those among them who condescend to mention the Christians considered them only as obstinate and perverse enthusiasts, who exacted an implicit submission to their mysterious doctrines, without being able to produce a single argument that could engage the attention of men of sense and learning." *Decline and Fall*, chap. XV.

Compare Lecky's reflections :—

"That the greatest religious change in the history of mankind should have taken place under the eyes of a brilliant galaxy of philosophers and historians, who were profoundly conscious of the decomposition around them; that all these writers should have utterly failed to predict the issue of the movement they were observing, and that during the space of three centuries they should have treated as contemptible an agency which all men must now admit to have been, for good or evil, the most powerful moral lever that has ever been applied to the affairs of men, are facts well worthy of meditation in every period of religious transition." *History of European Morals*, Vol. i, p. 359.

Writing on the same subject, Benjamin Kidd says :—

"So ignorant were men of the nature of the physiological laws to which the social organism is subject, that the intellectual classes were altogether unconscious, both of the nature and of the destiny of the movement which was unfolding itself underneath their eyes. They were either actively hostile or passively contemptuous". *Social Evolution*, P. 124.

How much of this contempt do we see in modern India! It is present as an undertone in a large part of Mr. Banerjea's article, and one seldom reads a Hindu criticism of Christianity and seldom hears a Hindu discuss Christianity without being deeply conscious of the same unlimited scorn. To the Hindu, doubtless the contempt seems only natural in his lofty appreciation of his own religion. Let him realise that to the Greeks and the Romans Christianity seemed quite as contemptible as it seems to him, and that history has shewn their contempt to have been the offspring of ignorance and blindness.

(3) STEADY INCREASE OF THE CHURCH.

While Christ foresaw in the clearest way possible the persecution and contempt to which His followers would be subjected, He consistently prophesied that His Kingdom would steadily increase. His teaching was a living organism, which was destined to grow and spread, until it should cover the whole earth :—

> "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and sowed in his field : which indeed is less than all seeds ; but when it is grown, it is greater than the herbs, and becometh a tree, so that birds of the heaven come and lodge in the branches thereof". Matt., 13, 31-32.

> "The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till it was all leavened". Matt. 13, 33.

> "Verily I saw unto you, wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, that also which this woman hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her". Matt., 26,13.

At the end of each great section of the *Acts of the Apostles* there occurs a sort of chorus or refrain* rejoicing in the growth and progress of the Church ; and Paul† was deeply impressed with the same phenomenon.

The unbroken progress of Christianity in Europe in the face of continuous opposition and in spite of the violent persecutions set on foot from time to time by the Empire, is one of the most remarkable things in history. The Christians of those days were well aware of what was happening, and constantly pointed to it as the work of God. The following is from an apology for Christianity written about 140 A. D. :—

> "Dost thou not see them thrown to wild beasts, that so they may deny the Lord, and yet not overcome ? Dost thou not see that the more of them are punished, just so many others abound ?" *Ad Diognetum*, 7.

The following is from Tertullians's *Apology*, written about 198 A. D.

> "Your cruelty, even the most exquisite, is of no avail against us. It is rather that which is our hire ; it draws converts to us. We grow by being mown down. The blood of Christians is the seed of the Chruch."

Take now a modern instance. In 1818 the London Missionary Society began work in Madagascar ; in 1830 the New Testament in Malagasy was printed ; in 1831 twenty-eight converts were baptized ; and during the following years the Church grew and flourished. But in 1835 the Queen of Madagascar swore she would stop these things by the shedding of blood. The missionaries were driven out, and for twenty-six years thereafter a violent persecution raged. In the midst of it, in 1849, the Queen said "I have killed some; I have made some slaves till death; I have put some in long and heavy fetters; and still you continue praying. How is it that you cannot give up that?" At length in 1891 the Queen died, and the new ruler granted toleration. Here is the historian's comment on the whole :—

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* Act, 6,4; 9, 31; 12,24; 16,5; 19,20.
† Colossiaus, 1,6.

> "During twenty-six years of persecution, more than ten thousand people had been sentenced to various penalties, and of these it is believed that two hundred suffered death; and yet at the end of this long period, taking all the country over, the Christians were probably twenty times as numerous as they were at the beginning". Horne, Story of the L. M. S., pp. 356—7.

We have no public persecution in India, but there is abundance of opposition everywhere. Yet the church grows.

(4) A VERY LARGE PROPORTION OF THE CONVERTS FROM THE LOWER CLASSES.

Mr. Banerjea has used this fact to make light of the growth of Christianity in India, talking of the semi-Hinduized aborigines as the "flotsam and jetsam" of the population. This is a constant characteristic of our faith, and one of which we are greatly proud. For Christianity wins those people, that it may raise them. Think of what the ancestors or the people of Britain were before Christianity found them. See what has been done during the past century among the cannibals of the South Seas. No other religion has ever exhibited the power of raising the fallen and the degraded that Christianity possesses.

Most of the followers of Jesus in His own days were from the lower classes. Consider these words :—

> " The officers therefore came to the chief priests and Pharisees and they said unto them, "Why did ye not bring him?" The officers answered, "Never man so spake". The Pharisees therefore answered them, "Are ye also led astray? Hath any of the rulers believed on him, or of the Pharisees? But this multitude which knoweth not the law are accursed". John, 7,46-49.

Is not Mr. Banerjea's scorn for the flotsam and jetsam of India parallel to the contempt of the chief priests and the Pharisees for the *'am ha-aretz*, the poeple of the land, who knew not the intricacies of their traditional law?

But not only did Christ gather round Himself large numbers of the common people; He saw that this would be a constant characteristic of His Church. Consider these very significant words from the parable of the Great Supper :—

> "Then the master of the house being angry said to his servant, Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor and maimed and blind and lame. And the servant said, Lord, what thou didst command is done, and yet there is room. And the Lord said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges, and constrain them to come in, that my house may be filled". *Luke*, 14,21-23.

The prophecy was fulfilled in the Church of the Apostolic age, as we can see from Paul's words :—

> "For behold your calling, brethren, how that not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called." 1 *Cor.*, 1,62.

The same was true later on, when the great struggle was at its height in the Roman Empire. There were so many people of the lower orders in the Church that, as Gibbon points out, the enemies of Christianity were wont to say that the new sect was almost entirely composed of the dregs of the populace, of peasants and mechanics, of boys and women, of beggars and slaves. Doubtless there is exaggeration in these charges ; yet they would have never been made, had there not been considerable ground for them.

In speaking contemptuously of the way in which Christianity gets hold of the lower orders in India, Mr. Banerjea has simply supplied another proof that in India our faith is producing precisely the same results that it produced in the Roman world so long ago.

(5) STEADY DIFFUSION OF CHRISTIAN IDEAS.

While the struggle between Paganism and Christianity was in progress, Christian ideas were steadily diffused among the population, and that in various ways.

(*a*) First there is the slow unobserved infiltration of Christian ideas into the general population from Chiristian preachig, Christian literature and the influence of individual Christians. Christ's parable of the Leaven quoted above best describes the patient certainty of this slow process of inoculation. From the very nature of the process it cannot be observed : there is only the result to prove that it has taken place ; and, by the time that has appeared, people have forgotten the source of the truth they now acknowledge.

In the Roman world Christian ideas became early diffused among the educated classes, as may be seen from a study of the literature and the laws of these centuries, but most of all from this, that, while the Christians were yet a small minority of the population, they wielded such an influence that Constantine thought it politic to give the Church a definite place in the empire.

In India to-day the influence of Christian thought is omnipresent. Listen to Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsees, Buddhists, Brahmos in public meetings, and read their papers : Christ's words are constantly used, and the main principles of His teaching are accepted as axiomatic. Every thinking man now calls aloud for philanthropy in the Christian sense, for the uplifting of women, and for the universalization of education. The innate dignity of the human being is not merely a religious but a political maxim in our midst. Mr. Banerjea rejoices in the impunity with which educated Hindus in the large towns now break caste rules about food, failing to realize that what he glories in is clear evidence that Christian ideas are already sapping the very foundations of Hinduism ; for if caste give way, Hinduism as a system is lost. We may also call attention to the fact that the practice of Bible-reading is steadily growing among educated Hindus. How many hundreds of thoughtful men who never dream of becoming Christians, who do not even have any intercourse with Missionaries, read the Bible privately! Hence unlimited diffusion of Christian ideas. But we need bring forward no further proofs. Mr. Banerjea's praise of Christ as "the great exemplar of practical morality" is quite sufficient to enable any one to realize that Christian thought is being rapidly assimilated in India at the present day.

(*b*) Christian ideas found wide diffusion also in ancient times by means of the numerous sects which were formed—like whirling eddies between contrary currents—in consequence of the collision of Christianity with the ancient faiths, especially in the various Gnostic sects, the Marcionites, and the various Judaeo-Christian bodies which came into being in Syria and Asia Minor.

The modern analogues to these are the Brahmo Samaj in its various branches, the Prarthana Samaj, the Dev Samaj, the Arya Samaj and that extraordinary Christian-Mohammedan hybrid in Qadian in the Punjab. All these, consciously or unconsciously, have absorbed and are spreading Christian ideas.

(*c*) Christian methods were adopted as well as Christian ideas. "It is too often forgotten", says Renan in his *Marcus Aurelius*, "that the second century had a veritable Pagan preaching similar to that of Christianity, and in many respects in accord with the latter". Equally instructive is the case of Maximin and Julian, who, perceiving the power that existed in the organization of the Christian Church, conceived the idea of rejuvenating Paganism by copying the Christian hierarchy,

The Hindu revival with commendable consistency copies missionary methods in all its work. The Central Hindu College, Benares, is in every detail a Hindu copy of a Mission College. Most of the societies formed for the defence of Hinduism use not only missionary methods but missionary phraseology. "Missionaries" have been sent out, "Missions" established, "Prayer Meetings" held, "Young Men's *Hindu* Associations" formed, "*Gita* Classes" conducted, "Inquirers" interviewed, "Tracts" distributed. If Missionaries set up some new and vigorous piece of work, we are sure to see a letter in the papers suggesting that Hindus should do the same. The Bible Society has for many years presented copies of the Scriptures to those who pass University Examinations in India: some Hindus of Madras have got out a little Hindu manual to distribute in the same way. The Aryas of Lahore and the Hindus of Madras have both begun to copy the missionary plan of a Scripture examination for prizes. A little volume has appeared, consisting of verses from the *Gita* and the *Bhagavat Purana* in English, and entitled *the Imitation of Srikrishna*! Single Gospels are sold all over India in the vernacular at a pice each: a Bengali translation of the *Gita* is now sold in the streets of Calcutta at the same price.

In the case of the modern Theistic sects of India the copying is still more potent. The very idea of congregational worship was taken over from Christianity: indeed the Brahmo service is simply a modification of the service in a Protestant church. The *Slokasangraha* is read instead of the Bible; there are the prayers, the hymns and the sermon. The organization of the local samaj; the minister himself; his preaching tours; his title, Reverend: all this is purely Christian.

Does not all this evidence make the vitality and the pervasiveness of Christianity stand out clear? In how many ways and by how many channels are its thoughts being worked into the life of India!

(*d*) Lastly there is the attempt made by opposing religions to defeat Christianity by swallowing the more attractive parts of its doctrine. Christ foresaw this also, and gave clear warning of the futility of the procedure. When a religion absorbs Christian teaching, it draws into itself a force which will in time lead to its own dissolution. But apart from that consideration, it is clear that such an attempt to stay the progress of the new faith leads immediately to the wider diffusion of its ideas. Here are Christ's words:—

> "And no man putteth a piece of undressed cloth upon an old garment; for that which should fill it up taketh from the garment, and a worse rent is made. Neither do men put new wine into old wine-skins, else the skins burst, and the wine is spilled, and the skins perish; but they put new wine into fresh wine-skins, and both are preserved". *Matt.*, 9,16-17.

These words mean that an old religion will find it impossible to patch holes in its worn-out system with pieces of Christian truth, for the new element will only shew more clearly how rotton the old is: and that to attempt to absorb the rich new wine of Christian teaching, while retaining the worn-out forms of an old faith, can only result in the destruction of the old forms by the new revolutionary element poured into them.

The plan, nevertheless, was tried in the Roman Empire. It may be traced most clearly in the case of Neo-Platonism, which, especially in its later days, appropriated large Christian elements. The founder of the school, Ammonius Saccas, like Mrs. Besant, began life as a Christian.

That this plan is being tried in India is evident to all observers, and Mr. Banerjea himself confesses to it quite frankly: "Hinduism can readily assimilate whatever is good and reasonable in the Christian or any other faith" (p, 511). So Hinduism is steadily doing the work of Christianity by absorbing and popularizing Christian ideas.

(6) A GREAT TENDENCY TO PRAISE CHRIST.

Mr. Banerjea has a great many things to say in favour of Christ and a great deal to say against Christianity, all unwitting that he is repeating precisely what the old enemies of Christianity said before the fall of European paganism. We here put some of Mr. Banerjea's sayings over against a couple of sentences from Harnack's *History of Dogma*:—

Harnack, I, 348-354.	*Banerjea, 514.*
"Individual Neoplatonists since the time of Ammelius employed Christian sayings as oracles and testified very highly to Christ."	"Christ the great exemplar of practical morality."
" Porphyry's work against the Christians is not directd against Christ or what he regarded as the teaching of Christ, but against the Christians of his day, and against the sacred books, which, according to Porphyry, were written by impostors and ignorant people."	" The more one enters into the true spirit of Christ, the more will he reject Christianity as it prevails in the world to-day. Hence the Indians have been gainers, not losers, by rejecting Christianity for the sake of Christ."

How many modern Hindus and Brahmos are, in their religious beliefs, like Alexander Severus, Emperor of Rome, from 222 to 235 A. D., in whose Lararium (i.e., Thakur Ghar) stood images of Apollonius of Tyana, Christ, Abraham, and Orpheus side by side.

(7) A REVIVAL OF THE OLD FAITH.

Wherever Christianity attacks an older religion, that religion always experiences a powerful revival, unless it be altogether rotten. The parallelism between the Roman Empire of the early Christian centuries and the India of to-day in this matter is very startling. Let readers consult any good manual of Church history, and they will see for themselves. The facts we shall now lay before the readers of this magazine are almost all taken from Harnack's *History of Dogma*. We here place side by side again a few of his sentences and a few from Mr. Banerjea's article:–

Harnack, 1. 116-117.	*Banerjea, 518-519.*
"After the national religion and the religous sense generally in cultured circles had been all but lost in the age of Cicero and Augustus, there is noticeable in the Græco-Roman world from the beginning of the second century a revival of religious feeling which embraced all classes of society, and appears, especially from the middle of that century, to have increased from decennium to decennium. Parallel with it went the not altogether unsuccessful attempt to restore the old national worship, religious usages, oracles, etc."	"A revival of Hinduism has taken place." "It (i.e. Christianity) has given us Christ, and taught us noble moral and spiritual lessons, which we have discovered anew in our own scriptures, and thereby satisfied our self-love and made them our very own. It has awakened a new spirit of enquiry in the drooping Hindu mind. It has made Hinduism conscious of its greatness. It has held up to view the baneful effects of certain soul-degrading customs which used to prevail, and prevail *still*, in Hindu society. In short, it has quickened it with a new life, the full fruition of which is not yet."

The revival thus corresponds in general: let us now turn to the details. In the Roman empire, as in India to-day, the old religion in its reaction from Christianity shewed (*a*) a strong disposition to monotheism; and precisely the same argument which Hindus use to-day, and which Mr. Banerjea puts for us in the words, "the Hindu peasant, when questioned, will say that all the gods he worships are but manifestations of the same Divine Spirit which pervades the universe," was commonly used in ancient times. Every apologist for Hinduism to-day labours to prove that it is as seriously monotheistic as Christianity; and so did many an apologist of Greek and Roman polytheism. Another point which Harnack mentions is this, that (*b*) the connection between morality and religion became more and more emphasized; and every careful observer will at once acknowledge that Hindus do their uttermost to-day to set forward the best moral elements in their sacred books, and allow the liturgical, the ritualistic and the legalistic elements to fall into the background. Take another point: "In many circles," says Harnack, (*c*) "an incarnate ideal in the present or past was sought, which might be worshipped as a revealer of God and as God, and which might be an example of life and an assurance of religious hope." How strikingly similar is the extraordinary outburst of Krishna-worship which India has witnessed during the last twenty years! Krishna is supposed to take the place of Christ, and the *Gita* the place of the Gospels. Philosophic thinkers, on the other hand, were inclined to speak rather of (*d*) men, in whose spirit God dwells, rising up to be gods on earth, just as our Brahmo friends have their doctrine of human incarnations in contrast with the Vaishnava and Christian conceptions. Lastly (*e*) one of the most noteworthy elements of the revival in Roman times was the appearance of Neo-Platonism, which sought to gather and sum up all the best elements in the old faiths, and to weld them into a consistent whole. But that is such an important movement that it must be dealt with separately.

(8) A PHILOSOPHIC REORGANIZATION OF THE OLD FAITH.

At the beginning of third century there appeared in Alexandria a great new philosophic movement, called Neo-Platonism, which for several centuries drew within itself a large number of the finest minds, and which proved a very powerful enemy to Christianity. The following brief sketch of the system is almost altogether composed of sentences taken from Rainy's *Ancient Catholic Church*, pp. 146-156, and Harnack'e article on Neo-Platonism in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, republished at the end of the first volume of his *History of Dogma*.

(*a*) Neo-Platonism claims to be not only the absolute *philosophy* completing all systems, but, at the same time, the absolute *religion*, confirming and explaining all earlier religions. A rehabilitation of all ancient religions is aimed at; each is to continue in its traditional form, but, at the same time, each is to share in the religious temper and the religious knowledge which Neo-Platonism has attained. Christianity too might have been acceded a place among the other faiths, only its arrogant claim to be the only true and universal religion led to its being proscribed as the worst of enemies.

(*b*) While using philosophy freely, Neo-Platonism put religion above philosophy, and recognized that true knowledge of God could not be got from reasoning. God was above human reason and could not be reached by it. He was super-rational, and knowledge of him must come by revelation. So Neo-Platonism built its system on ancient oracles and myths: these were not to be allegorized or explained away; they were regarded as the proper material and the sure foundation of philosophy.

(*c*) Neo-Platonism is dynamical Pantheism. Everything that has being is directly or indirectly a production of the "One." In this "One" everything so far as it has being, is Divine, and God is all in all. But that which is derived is not like the Original Essence itself: the law of decreasing perfection prevails in the derived. The first emanation of the Original Essence is the *Nous*, the mind; from the *Nous* the *Psyche* or Soul of the Universe is derived. The One, the Nous, and the Psyche constitute the Neo-Platonic Trinity. The Psyche begets the world of Phenomena.

(*d*) Human souls, sunk in the material world, have been ensnared by the sensuous, and have allowed themselves to be ruled by desire. Conversion, therefore, is needed; and this is possible, for freedom is not lost. The soul must return to its Source by means of an ascetic discipline, passing up through the civic, the purifying and the deifying virtues, until at last through meditation it loses itself in a state of intense concentration, in mute contemplation and complete forgetfulness of all things, and sees God.

(*e*) In its later forms Neo-Platonism strove above all things to defend the old Greek and Oriental religions against the formidable attacks of Christianity. In order to justify superstition and the ancient cults, philosophy in Iamblichus becomes a theurgic. mysteriosophy, spiritualism. Now appear that series of "Philosophers," in whose case one is frequently unable to decide whether they are deceivers or deceived, "decepti deceptores," as Augustine says. A mysterious mysticism of numbers plays a great role. That which is absurd and mechanical is surrounded with the halo of the sacramental; myths are proved by pious fancies and pietistic considerations with a spiritual sound; miracles, even the most foolish, are believed in and are performed.

No one who knows India to-day can fail to be struck with the close similarity there is between this ancient system and present-day Theosophy. It would be interesting to take up some Theosophic manual, and see how many points actually correspond. The modern system does not yet deserve the honour of being compared with that grand old school of thought; yet it is, for all that, the first sketch of what we are destined to see in India, *viz.*, a genuine philosophic attempt to build out of Hinduism a strong system to withstand the inrush of Christianity.

* * * * * * *

Each of these points, which I have brought forward as characteristic of the fierce struggle between Paganism and Christinaity in the Roman world and in India to-day, may have little meaning to the modern Hindu when taken by itself; but I venture to think that no thoughtful man can consider them as a group without having this borne in upon his mind with overmastering force, that *Christianity is working in India to-day in precisely the same way as it worked in the Roman Empire.* The similarity is so striking in details, both on the Christian and the opposite side, that one is driven to confess that we have here a repetition of the old struggle on new soil.

Now, were we to lay before some impartial biologist the history of Hinduism on the one hand, and the history of Christianity on the other, asking him to realize as fully as possible the immeasurable strength of the one, and the extraordinary activity and pervasiveness of the other, with all the striking details which we have brought out in the preceding paragraphs, and were we to ask him what the result of the struggle in India is likely to be, what would be his answer? Would he not say, " It is impossible to forecast with certainty how the struggle will end, for these two gigantic foes have never met in fair field before ; yet Christianity has proved itself an organization of such unparalleled vitality and of such invincible aggressiveness in the past, and in circumstances so exceedingly similar to those we now see around us in India, that, from the point of biology, I am inclined to think that the younger faith is likely to gradually weaken Hinduism and finally supplant it. The similarity of the phenomena as observed in the Romanworld and visible in India to-day almost compel us to this conclusion."

J. N. FARQUHAR.

CANNING : A STUDY.

MR. GLADSTONE is reported to have once said that he belonged to the political school of Canning and that his first lessons in politics he had received from the foremost statesman of his early days. As early as the 25th of February, 1830, he had declared at a debate in the Oxford Union that Canning was essentially his political ideal. Canning may not have been quite as brilliant as some of his predecessors in office like Fox and Pitt, neither was he quite as popular as some of his successors like Peel, Palmerston or Gladstone himself. Yet Canning is and would be regarded as one of England's greatest ministers, and would not suffer in comparison with her ablest statesmen. England has produced a great number of eminent statesmen and assuredly Canning was one of them. He was indeed a brilliant man.

Born on the 11th of April, 1770, of George and Costello Canning, he was left almost destitute on the death of his father, while still a little boy. His father was a member of the bar and of a fine literary disposition. He had been disinherited for marrying a young wife without fortune and died amidst difficulties incidental to elegant and luxurious tastes and idle habits. Young Canning fell under the care of his uncle Stratford Canning, an old whig who was held in high esteem by the leaders of his party. The uncle took young Canning through a private school to Eton, and subsequently to Christ Church at Oxford. The recollections of his Eton days are brilliant and we know him to have been a spirited companion, a laborious student, a clever and smart editor of the *Microcosm*, exclusively a college publication in the style and on the lines of *The* "Spectator", under a fictitious name which he had adopted of "Gregory Griffin." His prose compositions in these days were distinctly inferior, but his lighter productions, which were graceful and elegant in their style, were superior to those of his friends, other juvenile contributors. But Eton education in those days, as at present, was more for the man of the world than for the scholar. For science and solid learning one must turn to Harrow; for a preparation for the struggles of life and manhood and for an acquisition of a love of fame one must resort to Eton. Eton education developed all Canning's natural propensities and faculties and drew out into prominence all that was pushing and dashing in the future statesman. The young orator in the debating hall was the rising hope of the whigs and his youthful whiggism is reported to have drawn forth a remark from one of his classmates to his father, "Look papa, there—that good-looking fellow is Canning—such a clever chap, but a horrible Whig. By Jupiter, how he gives it to Pitt!" Such was our youthful politician who had been fascinated by the wit and rhetoric of Sheridan, and learned to admire the curving eloquence of Fox, friends who constantly visited his uncle Stratford. Canning's University life was not less glorious. Within a short time of his migration to Oxford he came to be regarded as a most powerful youthful personality amongst the under-graduates. He was studious and Republican in his principles, and in spite of his avowed Republicanism, which was a positively condemned principle at a time when England was being ruled by an oligarchy, and republicanism might have been tantamount to sedition or treason, he was the pet of his College, the admired of the debating society and an youth whose friendship was sought for by the most eminent in birth, talents and prospects. The earnest of the powers of intellectual wrestling which he had given in his under-graduate days, soon marked him out as one of the most distinguished of political fighters whom the great parties employed in their struggles for power. Leaving Oxford, Canning began to dine at the Lincoln's Inn, but did not aim at the woolsack. He loved to dine out and kept himself in close touch with his old friends whom he constantly visited, talked literature, discussed politics and "enjoyed new jokes," kept up his studies and writing which it was his intention to use in the great battles of party warfare.

About this time Canning's political career may be said to have begun. The never-ending faction between the two great aristocratic parties of the Whigs and Tories was still rampant, and one was trying as assiduously as the other to gain popular favour, which always leads to office in a constitutional Parliamentary form of Government. Public opinion was not yet sufficiently strong to make its influence and power felt by the community at large, and indeed statesmen did not recognise the existence of the community at large. Public opinion was the opinion of a small *cotery* whose members themselves were public men. The leaders of the two contending parties always sought to procure the best men for their lieutenants, and for such a re-inforcement they had to look up to the great aristocratic houses, for oftentimes ability meant distinction in birth and fortune. The party leaders were careful in securing and preserving the close boroughs in their discretion, and not infrequently did it happen that the exercise of their discretion left nothing more to be desired. History does not tell us how these close boroughs were created. They certainly were simple property belonging to peers or gentlemen, or might have been the effect of dominant local influence. A certain number of them were sold by the proprietors of these boroughs either for so much down or so much a year, and some were sold even by the Administration itself in order to keep its fortunes steady. A considerable portion, however, of this patronage was kept open for distinguished young men of noble families and distinction as a scholar at either of the two great universities, or as an able pamphleteer, or a denunciatory harangue at a club meeting, counted for much. Canning distinguished himself in all these, and in appreciation of this distinction Pitt sent him a message through a mutual friend desiring to meet him. Canning complied without delay, when to his intense astonishment he heard the great minister compliment him for his reputation as a scholar and a speaker, and that if he agreed with the policy of the existing Government, arrangements could at once be made to bring him into Parliament. This was under a system we have just noticed. The system had, of course, like every other system, both its advantages and disadvantages. It was under this system that England could be proud of a grand array of brilliant statesmen, so well-informed upon all questions of national interest, so highly educated, so well-trained and equipped for the life they undertook, and yet these were the men who did not care two straws for the feelings and wants of their poor fellow-subjects. They cared little whether bread was dear or cheap. Their compassion would not be excited if a whole mob was massacred, but a battle lost or won affected them deeply, and the loss of a general was to them a national calamity. Such were the men to whom England owes her political renown up till the middle of the last century. But Canning, by birth, education and association was a Whig and early in life he became the pet of Sheridan, who took a lively interest in his future welfare and success as a politician. Sheridan was so hopeful of Canning's success in the senate that on an occasion when Mr. Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Liverpool, made his most highly successful first speech, he said "There is a young friend of mine whom I soon hope to hear answering the honourable gentleman who has just distinguished himself; a contemporary whom he knows to possess talents not inferior to his own, but whose principles I trust, are very different from his." This allusion, however complimentary, was disagreeable to the youthful politician, for it would have the effect of irrevocably rivetting him to the Whig camp and Whig principles, an attachment to which he was disinclined. True, Canning was brought before the public under the auspices of a man who, however great and distinguished as an individual, could never be his patron, of whom all young talents are in need. Neither did Canning wish to adhere himself prematurely to this or that faith. There were moreover further considerations which Canning had to take into account when deciding upon the party he should join. The Opposition at the time was composed of the most brilliant men in public life—an array of distinguished aspirants to official honour if honour and preferment were to be attained by a show of talent, whereas on the other hand the Prime Minister stood alone and had all in the sole gift of himself. The Prime Minister always stood by those who once gained his favour and approbation. A rare opportunity also presented itself at the time when Canning resolved to cast in his lot with the party led by Pitt. France was in a hopelessly disorganised condition and Paris was under the reign of Terrors. In the name of freedom the mob rulers of Paris had committed crimes which the more sensible of even her most devout worshippers could not permit, and at which they shuddered. Pitt was resolved to make a stubborn stand against the reign of Terrors, and if Canning could join hands with the great minister, he might make his political life successful more easily than could otherwise be expected or achieved.

Such were the considerations that made Canning think twice before he pinned himself to either party. He now definitely made up his mind to join the Tory party and thought that he certainly owed an explanation to Sheridan, for whom he had a great affection, for this decision. He could not make this explanation to all the Whig leaders. One morning he called upon Sheridan, and found him in company with Lord Holland, in whose presence Canning made the explanation dreading all the time that it would rouse the irascible temper of the great Irishman; but to his delightful astonishment he found that the announcement had not ruffled his temper in the least; but on the contrary he was warm-hearted and frank, and indeed could not help sympathising with his young *protege* when reminded "of the haughtiness with which the great Whig houses looked down on the lofty aspirations of mere genius," to which the veteran orator himself was subjected in the earlier days of his political career. A seat in Parliament was secured for Canning, who now placed himself in opposition to his old friends, a conduct that evoked a most caustic satire from one Colonel Fitzpatric :—

"The turning of coats so common is grown,
That no one would think to attack it ;
But no case until now was so flagrantly known
Of a school-boy turning his jacket."

If this satirical doggeral was applicable to Canning, it was no less applicable with equal force and pungency to a great number of Fox's supporters, both young and old, who were deserting him upon the question of the French Revolution. The Whig leader had declared himself with regard to the excesses that were perpetrated in the name of Liberty and Fraternity, with regard to the incessant and respiteless working of the guillotine. The greatest of Fox's partisans severed himself from his leader with tears in his eyes. It cannot, however,

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and has already published works on some of its allied topics. In the pamphlet under notice he puts in a most vigourous plea and in doing so lays about both right and left on the Government and his other opponents. Whatever one any think of Mr. Webb's views and theories, his pamphlet is an opportune and valuable contribution to the elucidation—if not the solution—of a complicated problem and must be read by all interested in the subject.

Mr. S. K. Sarma is to be congratulated on the great interest he takes in our economic problems as evidenced by his *Indian Monetary Problems*, which is a reprint of articles contributed to the *Hindustan Review* and other periodicals. He has done well to collect the papers in a neat and handy volume, as they fully deserved republication in book-form. The case against the introduction of a gold currency in this country as well as a gold standard, has been urged by Mr. Sarma with ability, though occasionally with unnecessary warmth. Though the book is in the nature of a polemic—a frank denunciation, both open and by implication of the school represented by Messrs. Howard and Webb—it is none the less valuable for its systematic and fairly accurate sketch of the history of our monetary policy and coinage from the earliest times under British administration. The author has evidently made a careful study of his subject and mastered its literature, as is apparent from his having drawn upon most varied materials, almost all the sources accessible. He possesses a vigourous style and his work, therefore, is far from making dry-as-dust reading. For these reasons, the book is worth being read by all students of Indian Economics, apart from the soundness or otherwise of the author's views. Considering the poverty of the literature of Indian Economics, Mr. Sarma's book—which is an excellent digest of facts, figures and statistics bearing on its subject—is an important aud notable addition, and, as such, we have much pleasure in commending it.

RECENT LITERATURE OF INDIAN LAW.

The Principles of Muhammadan Jurisprudence: By Abdur Rahim, M. A., Barrister-at-law (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Depository, Madras). 1911. Price Rs. 18.

The Muhammadan Law of Inheritance: Vol. 1. By M. M, Ishfak, B. L., Vakil, (R. Cambray and Co., 6 and 8—2 Hastings Srteet, Calcutta). 1911. Price Rs 4.

The Muhammadan Law of Inheritance: By S. N. Subbarama Sastri. (Higginbotham and Co., Madras). 1911. Price Rs. 5.

Hindu Law as Interpreted by the Judges in India and the Privy Council: Vol. I. By C. S. Ramakrishna, B. A., B. L., (The National Stores Agency, Thumboo Chetty Street, Madras), 1911. Price Rs. 7-8.

A Complete Collection of Hindu Law Books on Inheritance: Translated into English. (V. Kalyanram Iyar & Co., Madras). 1911. Price Rs. 19.

The Leading Cases on Hindu Law: Part I. By S. Srinivasa Aiyar, Vakil. (G. S. Loganadham Bros., The Guardian Press. Mount Road, Madras). 1911. Price Rs. 1-8.

The Law of Service Tenures in Bengal: By Kanajit Sinha, B. L. (The Law Printing House, Mount Road, Madras). 1911. Price Rs. 2.

A Guide to the Statutory Law of Administration to the Estate of Deceased Persons in British India: By S. N. Subbarama Sastri, B. L. (The Law Printing House, Mount Road, Madras). 1911. Price Rs. 2.

Starling's *Commentaries on the Indian Limitation Act*, Adapted to Act IX of 1908. Revised and edited by Daniel Chamier, Bar-at-law. (N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay. 1911. Price Rs. 10.

The Law of Land Acquistion in British India. By Henry Campbell, Barrister-at-law. (N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay. 1911. Price Rs. 6.

The English and Indian Law of Torts: By Ratanlal Ranchhoddas, B. A., LL. B., & Dhirajlal Keshavlal Thakore, B. A., Barrister-at-law. (The Bombay Law Reporter Office, 73, Charni Road, Bombay). 1911. Price Rs. 5.

The Indian Decisions: (*a*) Old Series, 1 & 2. Supreme Court Reports, Bengal. (*b*) New Series, 1. Allahabad. (Law Printing House, Mount Road, Madras). 1911. Price Rs. 10 "Old Series" and Rs. 7 "New Series" a vol.

The Indian Reports: Vols. IV--V. (The Law Printing House, Mount Road, Madras). 1911. Price Rs. 8 per vol.

The Law Reports of British India: Vol I. (The Law Reports Office, Madras). 1911. Price Rs. 8.

Maharaja Libel Case, including Bhattia Conspiracy Case, (D. Lukhmidass & Co., Bombay). 1911. Price Rs. 4.

I.

WE welcome the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim's Tagore Law Lectures, 1907, just brought out in a handsome volume, called the *Principles of Muhammadan Jurisprudence.* The author is a distinguished scholar and his work bears the impress of a master's hand. We have read the book with pleasure and profit and strongly commend it to students of Jurisprudence as well as to practising lawyers in this country. One great merit of the book is that though dealing with a dry-as-dust subject, it is not only instructive but ever so much more interesting and stimulating than the crowd of books in a law library. The principles of Sunni law are enunciated in clear and simple language and historically traced back to their foundation—the sayings of the great Arabian prophet and his companions. The first chapter traces the growth of the Muhammadan Jurisprudence and gives an interesting sketch of the customs and usages of the pre-Islam Arabs, followed by an account of the changes brought about by Islam, and ends with a reference to the development of Anglo-Muhammadan law in British India. The learned author next deals with the interpretation of the Koran and the traditions. This is followed by chapters on Ownership and Possession, on Family Law and Torts and Crimes, the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims and the laws regulating the same. The book concludes with a glossary of Arabic terms and an index. Those in search of information about early Muhammadan manners and customs will find the book a most interesting study. We notice with pleasure that wherever technical words are used, the Arabic equivalent and transliteration are given, which enhances its value as a work of reference. It would be idle to attempt in a short notice to deal adequately with the great learning and research the author has brought to bear upon his work; some idea of which can be had by a reference to the formidable list of authorities consulted by him. Altogether, Mr. Justice Rahim's treatise is a most valuable contribution to the literature of the subject and will be found highly useful by those who do not know Arabic and to whom, therefore, it renders accessible what was hitherto a sealed book. In conclusion, we sincerly congratulate the author on his well-reasoned and masterly exposition of the fundamental principles of Muslim law.

One of the most difficult branches of Muhammadan law relates to inheritance. So far the late Mr. Almaric Rumsey's work has held the field on the subject, but we are now glad to find two Indian lawyers entering the ranks of expounders of this abstruse and intricate subject. Mr. Subbarama Sastri's work—the excellent get-up of which is worthy of the reputation of the premier publishing firm of Southern India—is a highly useful compendium of the subject and should be of great value both to students and practising lawyers. It deals with both the Sunni and Shia schools and is conceived on the lines of Sir Rowland Wilson's well-known *Digest*. The conclusions drawn from the authorities are set out in numbered paragraphs and the arrangement adopted conduces to simplicity and facility for reference. The author has evidently taken great pains to make his book exhaustive and authoritative and has fully succeeded in his effort. We have noted only two drawbacks, first and the more important—that generally the references are not given to the authorities from which the principles enunciated are deduced. This, for obvions reasons, is an omission likely to detract from the value of a work of reference, and we hope the defect will be remedied in the next edition; and next that the index is meagre and requires to be amplified. For the rest, it is a capital book on the subject it deals with.

Mr. Muhammad Ishfaq's work is designated *Muhammadan Law*, but the book under notice is styled Vol. I and deals with inheritance amongst the Sunnis, Shiahs, "and the Hindu converts residing in this country." It is meant mainly for those who desire a systematic treatise with references in each case to the texts of original Arabic authorities from the Koran and the six collections of the traditions and sayings of the Prophet of Islam. All these passages are, of course, translated into English for the behoof of those who are not conversant with Arabic. Apart from its merits as a learned exposition of the subject, the book will be found very useful by busy practitioners on account of the charts, the preparation of which must have entailed an immense labour and which certainly enhance its value as a work of reference. Mr. Ishfaq's elaborate work will, in all likelihood, supersede the treatise of Mr. Almaric Rumsey, which has been the companion of two generations of legal practitioners in this country. To the general reader the most interesting portion is the short chapter dealing with the laws of inheritance of some of the classes of converted Hindus to Islam, who are still governed by Hindu law. The get-up of the book is neat. We shall look forward with interest to the remaining volumes of this new treatise on Muhammadan Law.

II.

Mr. C. S. Ramakrishna's *Hindu Law*—only the first volume of which is published, the second and concluding portion being yet under preparation—is an ambitious publication. The first volume is divided into eight parts, each containing a number of chapters or sections. These again consist of two portions. In the first the principles are discussed in the light of the most recent decisions, while in the second the subject-matter, together with the case-law, is arranged in an analytical form with appropriate catch-words. In some chapters, where the analytical form is thought to be the best mode of presentation, the subject is discussed only in that form. Translations of the Sanskrit texts and the views of leading modern text-book writers on important points are also noted, in their proper places. These features in themselves, apart from other equally useful, render the book indispensable as a work of reference, while the student will find in it a clear exposition of the principles of the law of every province, which owing to the excellent arrangement can be seen at a glance. The exhaustive table of contents, table of cases and index, facilitate the use of the book as a work of reference. The eight parts in the volume under notice deal with (1) Sources of Hindu Law; (2) Schools of Hindu Law; (3) Scope and Application of Hindu Law; (4) Marriage; (5) Adoption; (6) Joint Family; (7) Debts; and (8) Maintenance. The second volume will contain:—(1) Alienation; (2) Partition; (3) Inheritance aud Succession; (4) Woman's Estate; (5) Gifts, Wills, Religious and Charitable Endowments; (6) Impartible Estates; (7) Benami Transactions; (8) Minority and Guardianship; and (9) Custom and Miscellaneous Matters. From this analysis of the contents, as well as the scope and method of treatment, indicated above, it is clear that the book, when completed, will fill a longfelt want—that of a book which will combine exposition with an exhaustive digest of case-law. As an up-to-date compendium of decisions of the Privy Council and the highest Indian courts, it is unsurpassed in the range of the literature of Hindu Law. The author is entitled to great credit for his work, which will be highly servicable alike to the student and the busy practitioner.

Messrs. V. Kalyanram Iyer and Co., of Madras, deserve congratulation on their happy idea of publishing, in one compact volume, English translations of a complete collection of all the texts of Hindu law on inheritance. The book presents the translations in full of all texts still extant bearing on the subject. There are also three very useful appendices which materially enhance the value of the book. In the first are systematically arranged passages bearing on *sapinda* relationship, while the other two contain translation of Vaidnath Dikshitiyam, dealing with the order of persons bound to perform funeral rites. A notable feature of the book is a critical Introduction by Mr. S. S. Seltur, sketching in brief the origin and development of Hindu legal literature and dealing with the differences in the fundamental, juristic conceptions of the East and West, as also of the trend of what may be called Anglo-Hindu law. A book like the one under notice, by making the original texts accessible, will enable practitioners to rely upon them more so than they could do hitherto, and this is a matter of very great advantage. In this view of the matter the book deserves a cordial welcome at the hands of both the Bench and the Bar.

The long-felt want of an exhaustive work on the leading cases of Hindu law is at last likely to be removed by Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyar's work, the first part of which is before us, and which, it is stated, will be completed in twelve parts. The book is planned on the model of the well-known treatise—Smith's *Leading Cases*. The author has brought to bear upon his task great acumen in analysing and arranging under suitable headings the leading cases, of which he gives in each case the *ratio decidendi*, with notes tracing the case historically, explanations of knotty points and technical expressions, as also in many cases arguments at the Bar. Arrangements of type and footnotes, with references to subsequent decisions bearing upon the leading cases, enhance materially the value and usefulness of the book as a work of reference. Altogether Mr. Srinivasa Aiyar's *Leading Cases on Hindu Law* is a highly satisfactory work and a very commendable venture, and we sincerely trust that it will receive the support it so richly deserves, which will enable the editor to bring his labours to a successful issue.

III.

In his *Law of Service Tenures in Bengal*, Mr. Ranajit Sinha has certainly broken new ground and though the materials at his disposal were meagre and scattered, he has nevertheless managed to make the best of them, with the result that his slim, little work is really a very useful compenduim of a difficult and intricate subject. The book, if only expanded in the next edition in the light of the results of further research on the part of the author, will probably take its place as the standard work on the subject. It is a pity that there is no index, a defect which should be removed in the next edition. The get-up of the book is exceptionally neat and does credit to the resources of its publishing house. We confidently recommend this book to students of the subject and the profession.

Mr. S. N. Subbarama Sastri—whose *Muhammadan Law of Inheritance* we have noticed above—has also published a collection of the statutory law on the subject of administration to the estate of deceased persons in India, which is embodied in about a dozen Acts. The enactments are intelligently summarised and the substance of the important provisions of each is set forth clearly and concisely. The publication will be found useful as giving in a connected form all the law on the subject within reasonable compass. The Law Printing House of Madras have brought it out with the excellent mechanical execution characterstic of their publications.

The late Mr. Starling's edition of the Limitation Act is a standard work and needs little recommendation, now that it is in its fifth edition. The new edition is in every respect—except one—an improvement on its predecessors, the one qualification being that the index is inappropriately placed at the beginning, instead of, where it should have been, at the end, and also that it is not so exhaustive as it well might have been. We trust it will be appreciatively enlarged in the next edition. For the rest, we are prepared to offer unstinted praise to the work of the editors—Messrs. Chamier and Nadkarni. Comparing it with the last edition, there is ample evidence furnished, by almost every page, of diligent care and assiduous research. The case-law is fully digested, carefully collated and intelligently set forth. The addition, at the end, of the text of the Limitation Act without any annotations, will enhance the usefulness of the work for reference. Altogether it is a capital and thoroughly up-to-date edition of a standard work and will hold its own against its competitors. The get-up is excellent and reflects credit on the publishers.

It is no disparagement to any other edition of the Land Acquisition Act to say that Mr. Campbell's is out-aud-out the best edition, and it will be especially useful to practitioners and judges in the Bombay presidency, as it contains the principles and methods of valuation laid down by the Tribunal of Appeal of the Bombay Improvement Trust. But apart from that the work will be found valuable all over the country, as it brings together within a fair compass all the authorities on the Act and the connected enactments and almost every section is fully explained and carefully annotated. The work has been so well done that we do not doubt that it will come to occupy the position of the standard treatise on the subgect, and the skill and diligence of the editor entitle him to great credit.

The fifth edition of that well-known work—Messrs. Ratanlal Ranchhoddas and Dhirajlal Keshavlal Thakore's *English and Indian Law of Torts*—does not, like good wine, need any reviewer's commendation. We have much pleasure in recording the appearance of the new edition, which, like the revised editions of the same authors' *Law of Crimes*, bears the impress of panistaking research and diligent attention. The book has been thoroughly over-hauled and made abreast of the latest case-law, and some important portions have been rewritten and amplified. The new edition is decidedly superior, in every respect, to its predecessors, not excluding the get-up, which is neat to a degree. Till the law of torts be codified in this country, this book will continue to be the standard work on the subject, which no student or practitioner can do without.

IV.

We offer our hearty congratulations to Mr. Venkasawmy Row on the successfnl inauguration of his monumental edition of our case-law under the general title of the *Indian Decisions*, the first three volumes of which are now before us. These volumes are the first batch of a proposed reprint of all the decisions in this country published from 1776 to the present day. The publication is divided in two series—the "Old" which is to give us reprints of reports of cases decided between 1774 and 1875; and the "New" containing reports of subsequent decisions. The two series are issued concurrently, and each volume contains about 1,100 pages. The first volume of the "New Series" deals with cases in the Allahabad Series of the Indian Law Reports. The other High Courts will be dealt with in turn. The intention is to complete the reprint of the Indian Law Reports in about sixty volumes, the cost of the "New Series" thus being Rs. 420. The number of the volumes of the "Old Series" cannot yet be definitely stated. It would be a mistake to think that the publication is merely a reprint. On the contrary it is a work which must have entailed much thought and immense labour. Though reasons connected with copyright preclude the reprint of arguments and "head-notes"—which latter are, therefore, new—nevertheless the plan adopted is wonderfully complete. First, we have the marginal note giving the date of the decision; then the volume and page of the Indian Law Reports in which the decision reprinted is to be found, next a note giving references to the pages and volumes of other reports where the same decision is to be found. Under the "head-notes"—which are in no way inferior to those compiled by the official reporters—are noted all the later decisions in which the case in question was referred to, followed, or dissented from; with references to the volume and page of the various publications in which these later cases are reported. Lastly, we have a reference to the volume in which any judgment, which went up in appeal to the Privy Council, is reported. To crown all, there is at the end of the volume a full index of all the cases reported in the volume. It is thus clear that no pains have been spared to render the series as useful for purposes of reference as it was possible under the circumstances. An acknowledgment is due to the splendid mechanical execution of the books, which reflects the highest credit on the resources of Mr. Venkasawmy Row's Law Printing House. For their most excellent format and get-up and for their subject-matter alike, the books are cheaply priced and should be able to command a very large sale. When completed the series will be a great boon to the legal profession and a monument to the gigantic enterprise of the late Mr. Sanjiva Row who conceived it and of Mr. Venkasawmy Row who is carrying it out.

We have already noticed in terms of high appreciation the series of reprints called *Indian Reports*, inaugurated by the late Mr. Sanjiva Row and now being carried on his partners. The first three of these, which reprinted the decisions in the fourteen volumes of Moore's *Indian Appeals*, received such encouragement that it is hardly necessary to commend the fourth and fifth volumes which have now been published. But the new volumes have some special merit which deserve attention. The fourth volume, which is described as a " Supplement to Moore's *Indian Appeals* " contains all the Indian decisions of the Privy Council from the earliest times down to the end of 1872, which are not to be found reported by Moore in his *Indian Appeals*. The present volume thus make accesible in a cheap form the reports in Acton, Knapp, etc., which are obtained with difficulty. More than this, there is the index at the end of the volume, which is quite unique feature in publications of this kind. It is a most comprehensive and exhaustive subject-index to all the Privy Council decisions, down almost to the date of the beginning of the Indian Law Reports and has been prepared, as even a cursory glance would show, with immense care and labour. The great research that must have gone to its compilation is sure to earn the appreciation of the legal world, as it facilitates the work of reference to no little extent. The fifth volume reprints the decision in the first three volumes of the Agra High Court Reports, and the brief notes appended to the cases should prove highly valuable. The editors deserve congratulation on the excellence of their work, and it is hoped that they will continue to receive the support that will enable them to complete this series and bring within reach of all the practitioners the decisions of the Indian Courts, at present scattered over innumerable volumes, most of them out of print and rare and available—if at all—at an enormous cost.

Yet another new series of reprints of decisions is the *Law Reports of British India*, of which Vol. I is just published. In the volume under notice, Agra Full Bench Rulings and North-West Provinces High Court Reports (Volumes I—III) for the periods 1866-67 and 1869-1871 are reproduced verbatim, with the headnotes, arguments of counsel and statement of facts, prepared by the law officers of the Government. It is stated that the Government of India have granted to the publishers the requisite permission to utilize, on certain conditions, their copyright in Government Law Reports up to 1876. The special feature of the undertaking is that extracts from Acts and Regulations are given in foot-notes to make the cases that bear on them easily intelligible. The volume is strongly and elegantly bound in half-leather and there is a ribbon to serve as a book-mark. The printing is neat and accurate and the arrangement of matter is such as will facilitate reference. The series will be a great help to the legal profession and it is hoped will receive the support it deserves. The editors of the series are the partners of the late Mr. Sanjiva Row and are carrying on his enterprise in a commendable spirit.

Not many lawyers to-day can recall the sensational Maharaj Libel case, which was tried in the Bombay High Court, in 1861. A report of it was published in London shortly after. This, of course, has long been out of print and scarce and second-hand copies of it have fetched, of late, as much as Rs. 50. It was, therefore, a happy thought on the part of a Bombay publishing firm (Messrs. D. Lakhmidass & Co.) to bring out a neatly got-up, cheap, verbatim reprint. We congratulate them on their enterprise and strongly commend the book both to lawyers and social reformers, for the publishers assure us, in the Preface, that the prototypes of the Maharaj who was concerned in the case "are still alive and kicking," The book makes interesting reading and ought to command a large sale.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

MR. J. RENTON-DENNING'S *Delhi : The Imperial City* is a popular compilation put together in view of the Darbar and it is certainly well adapted to its purpose. It must have been found very useful by visitors to Delhi and the great Darbar held there by His Imperial Majesty last month. There is, however, a good deal in it which is not of purely topical interest and it will therefore form a handy and trustworthy guide to future visitors to the new Imperial capital. Though compiled from standard works the author's long residence in Delhi has stood him in good stead, with the result that the book is thoroughly upto-date. It is printed by the "Times of India" Press, Bombay, and is very neatly got-up, the many illustrations in it being particularly striking. It is cheaply priced at Rs. 2.

Another work in view of the Darbar is the *Kutūb Minar*, by Mr. R. N. Munshi of Bombay. The author has evidently taken great pains in collecting and collating his materials and in arranging them systematically in a clear and connected account. The result is a concise but interesting sketch of perhaps the most famous monument in Imperial Delhi. The author—a Parsi scholar—deserves great credit for the spirit of research evidenced by this book, which is nicely got-up and printed at the Fort Printing Works (1 Parsi Bazar Street, Fort, Bombay). It is cheaply priced at Rs. 2, for the labour its preparation must have entailed on the author.

Messrs. Longmans announce a very important work entitled *Indian Shipping*: "A History of the Seaborne Trade and Maritime Activity of the Indians from the Earliest Times—A Forgotten Chapter of Indian History," by Professor Radhaumud Mookherjee, M.A. An introductory note has been contributed by Dr. Brojendranath Seal, Principal of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar's College. The following table of contents will give an idea of the importance of the book :—INTRODUCTION : Section I.—Isolation and Intercourse. Section II.—Evidences. Section III.—Epochs. BOOK I.—HINDU PERIOD. PART I.—INDICATIONS OF MARITIME ACTIVITY IN INDIAN LITERATURE AND ART. Chapter 1. Direct Evidences from Sanskrit and Pali Literature. Chapter 2, Direct Evidences from Indian Sculpture, Painting, and Coins. Chapter 3, Indirect Evidences—References and Allusions to Indian Maritime Activity in Sanskrit and Pali Literature. PART II.—THE HISTORY OF INDIAN MARITIME ACTIVITY. Chapter 1, The Pre-Mauryan Epoch. Chapter 2, The Maurya Period. Chapter 3, The Andhra-Kushan Period—Intercourse with Rome. Chapter 4, The Period of Hindu Imperialism in Northern India under the Guptas and Harshavardhana : The Foundation of a Greater India—Intercourse with Farther India. Chapter 5, The Period of Hindu Imperialism in Northern India (continued) : The Colonization of Java. Chapter 6, The Period of Hindu Imperialism in Northern India (continued) : The Maritime Activity of the Bengalees. Chapter 7, The Period of Hindu Imperialism in Northern India (continued) : Intercourse with China. Chapter 8, The Period of Hindu Imperialism in Northern India (continued) : Maritime Activity on the West Coast. Chapter 9, The Period of Hindu Imperialism in Southern India : The Rise of the Chalukyas and the Cholas—from the Middle of the Seventh Century to the Time of the Mahomedan Conquests in Northern India. Chapter 10, Retrospect. BOOK II.—MAHOMEDAN PERIOD. Chapter 1, The Pre-Mogul Period. Chapter 2, The Mogul Period : The Reign of Akbar. Chapter 3, The Mogul Period (continued) : From the Reign of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb. Chapter 4, Later Times. Chapter 5, Conclusion. The book will also be embellished with sixteen illustrations, of which the following is a complete list :—1. Relief at Borobudor : Indian Adventurers sailing out to colonize Java. 2. Sculptures from the Sanchi Stupas. 3. The Royal Barge on the Jagannath Temple, Puri. 4. A Sea-going Vessel. (From the Ajanta Paintings). 5. The Royal Pleasure Boat. (From the Ajanta Paintings.) 6. Landing of Vijaya in Ceylon (about 543 B. C.). From the Ajanta Paintings.) 7-12. Indian Adventurers sailing out to colonize Java. (From the Sculptures of Borobudur.) 13. Andhra Ship-coins of the 2nd Century A. D. 14. Some Indian Ships and Boats of the 17th Century. 15. Marhatta Grabs and Gallivats attacking an English Ship. 16. Some Indian Ships and Boats of the earliest part of the 19th Century.

We welcome Dr. Ernest Neve's *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, just issued by Mr. F. Fisher Unwin (London) of which His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to signify his acceptance of a copy. We hope to be able to print a critical appreciation of it in due course. In the meantime it is sufficient to note that the author in this book takes us through the beautiful vale of Kashmir. With him we drift down the great waterway, we climb to summits in the encircling ranges, we camp in the villages, thus becoming intimately acquainted with the people, and we wander through the streets of the ancient capital. The pages of the book are strewn with descriptions of wild mountain scenery and of the exquisite Alpine flora of the Himalayas. Several notable climbing expeditions are recorded in detail, and the work derives peculiar accuracy and intimacy from the fact that Dr. Neve has resided in Kashmir for the past quarter of a century. The volume is illustrated by a large number of unique photographs. It is cheaply priced at 12s-6d. net,

Mr. Claud Field has published through Messrs. Herbert and Daniel (London) an interesting Indian anthology called the *Charm of India*. It is very well got-up and is priced at 3s. 6d. The book, says the editor, "has been put together by compilation from the works of those who knew India well in the hope that it may so exhibit some of the different facts of Indian life as to interest both those who have known it personally and those who have not." The book is divided into seventeen sections, treating of, among other things, the romance of Indian history, cantonment life, the women of India, missionary work, sport in India and scenes of the mutiny. Extracts are given from the *Asiatic Journal* and *Calcutta Review*, and the writings of Bernier, Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Herbert Edwards, Macaulay, Sir H. Lawrence, Sleeman, Sir Bartle Frere, Keshub Chunder Sen and many other European and Indian writers. A work of this kind can never satisfy all readers, each of whom may have his favourite author or rather favourite passages. As it stands, it is susceptible of great improvement in subsequent editions, if only readers will co-operate with the editor. But making allowance for defects of omission—and possibly commission—inherent in a work of this kind, we have nothing but praise for the compiler's industry and good taste—barring the very frequent use of "native" for "Indian".

Amongst the many souvenirs prepared in connection with the Delhi Durbar, perhaps the most admirable is one recently issued by Messrs. Burroughs Welcome and Co., the famous chemists, called *The King-Emperor and his Dominions*, Is a handsome production, beautifully printed on art paper. On the first pages lifelike portraits are given of the King, the Queen and the Prince of Wales; then there are a series of photographs of some of the best known of India's monuments and landmarks, including the Kutab Minar and the Taj Mahal; then follow pictures of some famous predecessors of King George V, beginning with Alfred the Great, and of the Coronation Regalia. A brief well-written history of India from the earliest times, illustrated by reproductions of historic scenes as depicted by Indian artists, is succeeded by a series of photographs of past Governors and Viceroys and Secretaries of State, and later by short description of the provinces and Indian States, with portraits of their rulers. Thel atter part of the book is devoted to an account of the various branches of Messrs. Burroughs, Wellcome and Co., including their chemical and physiological research laboratories and the Wellcome Materia Medica Farm, and indicates the prominent part the firm have taken in the fight against all kinds of human maladies. A chapter on "Malaria and Quinine" is specially interesting. We have lighted upon only one serious mistake. Sir Partap Singh of Jodhpur's portrait is described as that of the Maharaja of Kashmir—a confusion, perhaps, due to the names of both being the same.

A volume bearing the title of *Selected Works of Voltaire* has been issued by Messrs. Watts & Co., London, in the R P. A. sixpenny series, of which between two and three million copies have already been sold. The selection is a representative one, and is introduced by a critical essay on the life and works of the author, written by the translator, Mr. Joseph McCabe. It should find a large sale in this country, where the works of Voltaire in English translation have been hitherto inaccessible.

Messrs. Cassell & Co., (London) have published the first volume of a new series of half-crown books, the general title of which is the "Library of Modern Knowledge." The avowed aim is to supply thoughtful people with books that give the salient facts of science and culture in a lucid and simple manner. The first volume has been written in collaboration by Mr. E. W. Edmunds and Mr. J. B. Hoblyn, and is entitled *The Story of the Five Elements.* It traces the growth of chemistry from the earliest time to the discovery of radium. The second volume, which is also ready, is the *Rise of the Democracy*, an historical survey by Mr. Joseph Clayton. He shows the dangers of the movement as well as the advantages and seeks to explain the principles that have led up to the present awakening of the social conscience.

Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co. (Calcutta) announce the publication of a new edition of *Curry and Rice*, by Captain Geo. F. Atkinson, being the fourth of this well-known but now very scarce Anglo-Indian classic, which portrays with such characteristic humour the social life of Anglo-Indians of fifty years ago. The original coloured sketches of the artist have been placed at the disposal of the publishers, and, advantage has been taken of the opportunity to place in the hands of the public, for the first time, a faithful facsimile of these clever sketches. This volume will appeal to the taste of all Anglo-Indians and Indians, specially those who are familiar with mofussil life in India. The letterpress, binding, and entire get-up of the book are as nearly an exact copy of the original work as it is possible to make them.

Messrs. Seeley & Co. (London), have just brought out a fourth and cheaper edition of Dr. Pennell's well-known book *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier* and a new little book by the same author called *Things Seen in Northern India* (price 2*s*). The earlier book dealt exclusively with frontier life, but in his new work the author has chosen a wider field. Though it is small enough in size to be carried in the pocket, it is written in an interesting style. Dr. Pennell knows Northern India intimately and in his little book, which is abundantly illustrated with photographs, the reader will find not only delightfully-written descriptions of Northern India's "show-places," but a mass of interesting information. The chapters on the "Religious Romance of Northern India" and "The Mountaineers of the Borderland" are both of considerable interest. Altogether Dr. Pennell's *Things Seen in Northern India* is a most capital little book.

The late Mr. W. H. Robinson's *Golden Legend of India* (Messrs. Luzac & Co., London), appears at the psychological moment when it is natural to think of the impressive story of ancient India which formed part of coronation ordinances. It was recited amid scenes of splendour and stateliness, and the new monarch usually appointed the celebrants his "chosen friends" in recognition of the wisdom conveyed in the story. Mr. W. H. Robinson was an enthsiastic student of Sanskrit and India's ancient wisdom. Although he did not live to see the publication of this book, on which he had lavished so much thought, he saw the first proofs. It would have rejoiced his heart to know that the book appeared simultaneously with the departure from England of the British Emperor of India for his coronation durbar at Delhi. The book should make a wide appeal to readers in India and in the West.

In the "Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature,"—the merits of which we have characterised before—the five latest volumes are *Primitive Animals* by Mr. G. Smith, *The Wanderings of Peoples* by Mr A. C. Haddon, *Links with the Past in the Plant World* by Mr. A. C. Seward, *Moral Life* by Professor W. R. Sorley and *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* by Mr. J. H. Moulton. The first three are contributions to Science, the fourth to Ethics and the fifth to Literature. They are all—as are the other volumes of the series—written by specialists and experts and are well adapted to the purposes of enabling lay men to acquire general culture. Professor Sorley's *Moral Life* should form a valuable adjunct to the text-books of our students who have taken up Ethics for their university course, while Mr. Moulton's contribution to the early literature of Persia will specially appeal to Parsis. We once again commend this series to readers in this country.

In the course of next few months the Christian Literature Society hopes to publish a *Year Book of Missions in India.* The book will consist of a series of articles written by various contributors throughout the country. These contributors have been selected with a view to their qualifications for the work allotted to them, and in almost every case the article will be the product of a specialist. The book will contain a large amount of information in addition to these articles. There will be a list of mission stations with the names of these missionaries with their postal addresses and a set of statistical tables. These will, together with the articles, form a book of about 600 pages which will probably be sold, bound in cloth, Rs. 3-8-0 and in paper for Rs. 2-8-0.

We had occasion to review the first volume of the *Prithebir Itihash* or 'the History of the World in Bengali' by Babu Durga Das Lahiri, and thanks to the munificence of the Maharaja Bahadur of Durbhanga, the author has been able to bring out the second volume of his masterly work. Like the first volume, it is characterised by originality and research. The ability with which the author has dealt with some of the important topics of Indian History, his elucidation and treatment of theories reflect great credit. Judging from the first two volumes, one is led to think that this series will be superior, at least in certain respects, to the 'Historians' History of the World. "The Bengalee-reading population must also heartily thank the Maharaja of Durbhanga for having undertaken the cost of printing of this volume."

IN THE PUBLIC EYE.

THE HON'BLE MR. BHUPENDRA NATH BASU.

By Mr. Satya Chandra Mukerji, M. A.

THE Hon. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu who had been elected to be the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the twenty-sixth Indian National Congress, has been a prominent figure before the Indian public for many years past and is one who is fully worthy of the high honour that his fellow-citizens had conferred upon him. Among those who had the privilege of extending the welcome of the City of Palaces to the assembled delegates of the Indian nation on the occasions when the sittings of the National Congress were hitherto held in Calcutta, we find the names of the late Raja Rajendra Lal Mittra, the late Mr. Manomohan Ghose, the late Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter, the Maharaja Bahadur of Nattore, and Dr. Rash Behari Ghose. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu has by the commanding position he has attained in his profession and by his unselfish labours in the public cause, secured for himself in an unstinted measure the esteem and confidence of his educated countrymen. Born 52 years ago in a middle class Kayastha family that had long been settled in the northern portion of Calcutta, young Bhupendra Nath had the usual education of a Calcutta youth. He passed his matriculation examination in 1875, and entered the Presidency College, then having on its staff some of the most eminent educationists who ever came out to this country. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu had a distinguished career at the college and he took an active part in the meetings of the various debating societies then flourishing in Calcutta under the leadership of the late Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose, the late Mr. Kali Charan Banerjea and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea. He passed his B. A. degree examination in 1880 and enrolled himself the same year as a solicitor's clerk in one of the most well-known firms of Calcutta, presided over by a distinguished Bengalee solicitor, who is yet happily in the land of the living. He passed his M. A. with honours in English Literature in 1881 and was placed second in the list in order of merit, next to his contemporary and life-long friend, Principal Herambachandra Maitra, the accomplished scholar who now so worthily presides over the City College, one of those educational institutions which without any subsidy from the State and without any control of the Department of Public Instruction, flourishes to-day with hundreds of English-speaking scholars.

During the next five years Mr. Basu attended with diligence and assiduity to the dry details of a solicitor's work, and after passing the requisite examinations was enrolled as an attorney on the original side of the High Court at Fort William. He applied himself to his business with his whole heart, and his honest, hard work, brought him success in his profession within a very short period. His prospects brightened as he increased in years and experience, and to-day he stands, as he has stood for many years, in the front rank of his profession, enjoying the unstinted confidence of a large and ever-widening circle of clients. Apart from his ability he has acquired a name for himself for honesty and integrity. The shady practices which were associated with the names of an old class of practitioners, who have now almost disappeared from the scene, are fast becoming extinct, and to Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu belongs the credit of having set his face against those malpractices which in certain cases had tarnished the fair name of his profession. He once incurred great unpopularity by prosecuting a senior solicitor and the articled clerk of the latter with regard to a mortgage-deed at the registration of which there had been intentional false personation; but when Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu felt the call of duty, he thought that he had to do what his conscience told him was the proper course in utter disregard of all personal considerations. Apart from his professional work, which is considerable and engrossing, the subject of this sketch has always taken an active and intelligent interest in the social and political problems of his province and country. He has been one of the staunchest supporters of the Indian National Congress, which he joined within a few years of its foundation.

Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu was for many years an active member of the Calcutta Corporation and resigned his seat along with 27 of his colleagues, in 1899, as a protest against the imputation of corruption and dishonesty made against the elected Indian members by the late Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the author of the Calcutta Municipal Act. He presided over the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Mymensingh in 1905. Mr. Basu is an ardent temperance reformer. A skilful debater and an eloquent writer and speaker, he can put forward his position before the public with great clearness and force, and his speeches carry conviction. But apart from his contribution to political thought, he has always borne the brunt of the work of organisation in regard to all the public movements in recent years. He is one of the accepted leaders in his native province and there are few who demur to the sentiments to which he gives expression either on the public platform or in the Council Chamber. He has resolutely set his face against what is called the 'new school of thought,' and he has preached the doctrine of moderation, of loyalty to the British Government and of devotion to the interests of his country, clearly and unequivocally. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu has a seat in the Bengal Legislative Council and the Supreme Council. It is too early to speak of his work as a councillor, as we hope and trust that there are many years of active usefulness yet before him in the august chambers to which he has gained admittance. It may be said, however, that during the short time that he has been in the Supreme Council, he has established a name for himself as a ready and skilful debater, and his views on all public questions have been stated with that grasp of principles and comprehension of deatil that make them worthy of the serious consideration of officials and non-officials alike. It is not for us to say to-day what the fate of the Special Marriage Bill that he has introduced in the Council is likely to be. To us its principles seem to be unexceptionable, but it has unfortunately met with opposition from so many quarters as to make its translation into the statute book a rather difficult question. But the very fact of the introduction of this Bill shows what a keen social reformer he is.

During the course of last year Mr. Basu paid his first visit to Europe and although it was of a very short duration, the few weeks were crowded with engāgements and he did his best to enlighten the British with the best political thoughts of his educated countrymen, expressed in that spirited style of which he is so consummate a master. His speeches in England were listened to with pleasure and attention, and they brought home to many a right-thinking Englishmen the justness and reasonableness of the aspirations of educated India. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu also made it a point to bestow some thought on the industrial problems of Great Britain, at some of those famous centres of manufacture and commerce which have justly acquired a world-wide celebrity, and he gave expression to some of his ideas on the subject at the Swadeshi mela, at the opening ceremony of which he presided. In the speech that he delivered at the last Congress he presented a statemanslike view of the situation, so far as the province of Bengal is concerned, and offered sagacious advice to his younger countrymen to proceed with political and industrial work in furtherence of the best interests of this country along right lines. The province of Bengal is fortunate to have had at a crisis in her affairs men of the sound political principles like Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu who believe that British rule in India was a divine ordinance and seek to broadbase the foundations of that rule on the willing allegiance of their countrymen. The future of political agitation in India is a complicated problem and on that question as well as the other questions which are now to the fore, we shall look for advice and enlightenment at the hands of Mr. Basu, whom we wish a long life of usefulness and public activities.

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THE KING-EMPEROR TO HIS PEOPLE.

ON the morning of 8th November last, Messrs. Williams and Norgate published, by permission of his Majesty, a volume bearing the title, *The King to His People*, 'being the speeches and messages of his Majesty, George V, as prince and sovereign.' (Price 5*s.* net.) There was a special appropriateness in issuing the volume of speeches delivered during his Majesty's different tours through the Empire, on the eve of his starting on another and even more memorable journey—the first visit that any British Sovereign, as Sovereign, has ever paid to India. The collection of speeches is practically complete, the only omissions being certain short speeches on ephemeral subjects, as, for instance, during the colonial tour, which from the nature of the case were more or less a repetition of what had been said elsewhere. The speeches cover a singularly wide range of subjects, Imperial, naval, military, educational, and social; and it may be said without flattery that all of them are just what might have been expected from the occasions, which called them forth and from him who uttered them. They illustrate at once the King's devotion to the interests of his Empire in their widest sense, his keen practical intelligence, and his gift, so rare among Royal speakers, for touching even well worn subjects with phrases happily and freshly turned. Although the collection has been made "By Permission," it is not issued "By Authority," a distinction which the reader may be glad to dwell upon before reaching the last of the 452 pages.

No sensible man has ever doubted that it is hard to be a King. The present book will confirm that widespread opinion. Not only is the modern sovereign required to interest himself in such diverse subjects as art and water supply, and the Manchester cotton trade—a burden he shares with the modern journalist—but he is also bound, at any rate in England, by many conventions. For a King, to say the expected thing is to say the right thing. He is not allowed the orator's weapon of surprise: it is even doubtful if he ought to be eloquent. The subjects of King George may, therefore, rest assured that their King is more interesting than his speeches.

Most people will turn at once to the famous "Wake up, England!" speech, which his Majesty, as Prince of Wales, delivered at the Guildhall on December 5, 1901, upon his return from the colonial tour of that year. Possibly they may be startled to discover, upon a re-reading that the phrase which has gone round the world, was never used by the King. Here is the passage from which it was coined to serve as a newspaper headline:—

> To the distinguished representatives of the commercial interests of the Empire, whom I have the pleasure of seeing here to-dey, I venture to allude to the impression, which

seemed generally to prevail among their brethren across the seas, that the old country must wake up if she intends to maintain her old position of pre-eminence in her colonial trade against foreign competitors.

His Majesty went on to allude to the "all-prevailing and pressing demand" for population in the outlying parts of the Empire, and concluded with an appeal to his fellow-countrymen at home "to prove the strength of the attachment of the motherland to her children by sending to them only of her best." The speech as a whole creates quite a different impression from that which has become traditional.

Towards the end of 1905, it will be remembered, the Prince and Princess came to India, and made a memorable tour of four months' duration. Some of the reflections which it suggested are summed up in the following words spoken at Karachi on March 17, 1906 :—

> Your concluding words of 'God speed' for which were both most grateful, remind us, alas! that our visit to India is near its end. I can assure you and our other friends in all parts of this great and wonderful land that we leave India with feelings of gratitude and affection. We have seen enough to make India a living reality to us, and enough to make us wish that we could see more and to implant for ever in our hearts sympathy and interest in all that effects our fellow-subjects in India, of whatever creed or race. Although our receptions everywhere were scenes of brightness and splendour and we have been greeted by thousands of cheerful and happy faces, we have not forgotten the hard lives led by those in the trying climates of the plains ; and we know the miseries which beset the patient and hard working peasant when the rains do not come in due season. We are both sincerely thankful to have been privileged to visit India, and to have gained impressions that with future study and observation will enable me to try to understand some of the problems of British administration ; I fully appreciate the advantages that a visit to this great continent must give to any one in considering even the simplest Indian questions.

Three years later the Prince made one of his many speeches, touching upon military subjects, in reference to a subject which he has always had much at heart, the formation of Cadet Corps :

> It is not everyone who, at the end or a day's work, is willing to devote several evenings a week to training both physical and intellectual, such as the cadets of this battalion undergo. There must be a strong motive power which induces a service of this nature—a voluntary effort to become a more useful citizen and an effective instrument in the defence of one's country. This is patriotism ; and all you my young friends, by your work and example are fostering that spirit, which 'originating in love of country, inspires us to support and defend its existence.

Only second in interest, particularly at the present moment, is the corresponding speech at the Guildhall four and a half years later upon the Prince's return from his visit to India. The most significant sentences ran :

> I cannot help thinking from all I have heard and seen that the task of governing India will be made the easier if we, on our part, infuse into it a wider element of sympathy. I will venture to predict that to such sympathy there will be an ever-abundant and genuine response. May we not also hope for a still fuller measure of trust and confidence in our earnest desire and efforts to promote the well-being, and to further the best interests, of evely class ?

This Indian speech, occupying twelve and a half pages of print, appears to be the longest that the King has ever delivered, a fact obviously due to his very real interest in the country and its difficulties. At Karachi, during the tour, he hand spoken, with becoming modesty, of "impressions that with future study and observation will enable me to try to understand some of the problems of British administration," while at Rangoon he had eulogised "the wise policy of tolerance for all creeds and equal justice for all races", associated with British administration. Again, at the close of the Guildhall speech, he urged Englishmen to visit India in order to "foster sympathy and brotherhood."

Of eloquence, as judged by the usual, or non-Royal standard, there is but one example in the book. So sharply does it stand out among its rather formal surroundings that some new personality seems for the moment to have claimed the nation's ear. Art, as well as emotion, went to the making of this peroration to the speech which King George delivered last May at the unveiling of the Queen Victotia Memorial.

> We are sure that the tributes we pay to-day will not be disputed by posterity. Her life was devoted to the discharge of her solemn public duty. Her authority was exercised on all occasions with sincere respect for constitutional usage and tradition. No Sovereign in history reigned so long over so many millions of mankind; no ruler saw so many wonderful changes come to pass or witnessed such a vast expansion in the scale and power of human arrangements; no reign in this kingdom ever gathered up more carefully the treasure of the past, or prepared more hopefully the path of the future. No woman was ever held in higher honour. No Queen was ever loved so well.

The last extract that we shall give from this very interesting book is from the short but most touching speech, delivered by the King on his Accession :—

> Standing here a little more than nine years ago, our beloved King declared that as long as there was breath in his body, he would work for the good and amelioration of his people. I am sure that the opinion of the whole nation will be that this declaration has been fully carried out. To endeavour to follow in his footsteps and at the same time to uphold the constitutional government of these realms, will be the earnest object of my life.

Perhaps the most widely remembered of these sayings is the following:

> The foundations of national glory are set in the homes of the people. They will only remain unshaken while the family life of our race and nation is strong, simple and pure.

TOPICS OF THE DAY.

The Delhi Darbar and the Historic Announcements by the King-Emperor—The Change of Capital from Calcutta to Delhi—The Partition of Bengal and its Reunion under Governor-in-Council—The Separation of Behar and Orissa under a Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council—Home Rule in Ireland and India—The Indian National Congress and the Industrial and Social Conferences in Calcutta—The Necrology of the Month.

I.

THE great Darbar at Delhi is come and gone, but that it has not been a mere Field of the Cloth of Gold is evident from the fact that the announcements made at it have dwarfed, for the time being, all other things—even the other incidents connected with the Royal visit—into insignificance. Unlike Lord Curzon's Darbar, which dazzled the eye with its glitter but left no impress on our progress, His Majesty's Darbar has given enough to the mind to fasten on, will leave a permanent and an abiding mark on the political and even social conditions of the country, and it will be many years yet before its echoes will cease to reverberate. Under ordinary circumstances attention would have been more largely drawn to the spectacular side of the ceremonial, but though these have been graphically and vividly set forth by the correspondents of the dailies, they have failed to make so deep an impression on the public mind as the announcements of the far-reaching changes made by the King-Emperor in person and the publication of the reasons for the same in the memorable despatch of the Government of India to Lord Crewe and his lordship's reply thereto. And yet the Darbar was a grand and an unparalleled success as much from the scenic and spectacular standpoint as from that of the deep impressions it has left on the country at large. Those who, like the present writer, had the privilege of witnessing it can never forget the splendid scenes and sights of the great gathering which surpassed all expectation and at which it may truly be said that—

> All was royal,
> To the disposing of it nought rebelled :
> Order gave each thing view : the office did
> Distinctly his full function.

That it was brilliantly organized by that master-genius in this line—Sir John Hewett, that it was expressive beyond measure, that it was perfect in its setting, that all its various features were stately magnificent and majestic and that, taken as a whole, it was solemn yet splendid, are facts universally admitted and are said to have been given expression to even by the King-Emperor, in thanking Sir John Hewett. To the Indians it was a great object-lesson in the art of organization. But when in course of time the vision of the pageant grows faint and dim, it will continue to be associated in the public mind by the great, historic announcements with which the Emperor was graciously pleased to signalise it and which have dwarfed the statements made by His Excellency the Governor-General on the same occasion about the boons and concessions in honour of the Darbar. The change of capital, the annulment of the Partition of Bengal, and the creation of a new full-fledged province of Behar, are the mementous changes announced by His Majesty that will stamp for ever the Darbar as a landmark in the annals of Modern India.

II.

The change of capital from Calcutta to Delhi has been approved of by the organs of public opinion in all parts of the country—except by one Indian and two Auglo-Indian journals of Calcutta. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is like Niobe all tears at the announced change, the more so as it is coupled with the separation of Behar—the land our contemporary loves so well that it can never contemplate with equanimity its constitution into a self-contained administration. The other two Calcutta papers—the *Statesman* and the *Englishman*—have literally run amock and have, forsooth, demanded the recall of Lord Hardinge! They have written in such a violent strain and indulged in such vehemence bordering on gross impropriety that the *Madras Mail* has felt bound to print a long editorial on the attitude of these two Anglo-Indian journals, headed "The Dignity of the Viceroy," from which we make the following extract :—

> We regret to find it necessary to remind certain esteemed Anglo-Indian contemporaries of what we should have thought it impossible for journals conducted by Englishmen to forget—the dignity of the Viceroy and the importance of maintaining it unimpaired. When the important and in some respects surprising changes designed to make memorable the Royal visit, which would have been unforgettable in any case, were made public, we expected that voices would be raised in protest in Calcutta. It is most natural that the journals of that city should take strong exception to the transfer of the captial of India to Delhi. It is natural also that many critics should disapprove of procedure which made it impossible for public opinion to influence the decisions in that and other matters of the Government of India and the British Cabinet. There is nothing improper in out-spoken criticism on these points. Allowing, however, that the

Government of India must share in the blame for a course of action which they suggested, and that some of that blame must fall on Lord Hardinge, what right has any one to denounce him in the terms used by certain Calcutta journals? These journals demand that he should be removed from his position. We believe that except in Calcutta such a demand will find no echo. But our protest is directed particularly against the tone in which it is made. We do not think that it is ever impossible to criticise the Viceroy of India without lowering his dignity and the dignity of his office; and we are certain that on the present occasion it was possible to convey censure of his action, taken with the support of all his colleagues and the approval of the British Cabinet, without unfairly singling him out for attack or failing in respect towards the Viceroyalty. If to-day we diminish the prestige of that exalted office and its occupant, it will be in vain to-morrow to urge the Government of India to take a firmer stand against outbursts of agitation in India or the pulling of wires from Home. There was never a time when it was more necessary to preserve the prestige of the Viceroyalty, and we cannot be deterred from protest against its diminution by the thought that in making such a protest we may be laying ourselves open to unjust suspicion of assuming a Pharisaical superiority over contemporaries we have sincerely esteemed.

As a matter of fact even in Calcutta some leading Europeans connected with commerce have urged the acceptance of the change of capital in good grace. But whatever the view of a section of the Anglo-Indians of Calcutta and those Indians for whom the *Patrika* may claim to speak, the almost universal opinion of the country—which we ourselves share—is that the proposed change will be beneficial and advantageous to the public interests of India at large, though it may partially affect the vested interests in Calcutta. The general opinion of the country on this subject was very happily expressed by Mr. Bishan Narayan Dar in his presidential address at the National Congress. We are sure that, in due course, nothing but good will result from the change of capital, no less than from the other two equally inportant changes, and our people are deeply beholden to Lords Hardinge and Crewe for having advised the Emperor to celebrate the Coronation with a measure that has brought joy both to Bengal and Behar—curiously, of the one at reunion, of the other at separation—and to the whole country by the restoration of its ancient and historic capital. No less than the changes themselves has appealed to the public mind the dramatic manner of the promulgation of the announcement by the King-Emperor in person.

III.

I said in my opening chapter that I believe the Partition of Bengal to be the greatest and most beneficent of Lord Curzon's labours in India. Nothing that he did brought him viler calumny both in India and in England, but he has not had to wait for the vindication of history. Wisdom is already

> justified of her children ; he built even better than he knew ; and within five years the very men who denounced him most were silenced. It is given to few constructive statesmen to encounter such good fortune. (Page 396 of Lovat Fraser's *India under Curzon and After*).
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> It is certain, however, that the Partition is, in part at any rate, responsible for the growing estrangement which has now unfortunately assumed a very serious character in many parts of the country between Mahomedans and Hindus. We are not without hope that a modification of the Partition, which we now propose, will, in some degree at any rate, alleviate this most regrettable antagonism. To sum up, the results anticipated from the Partition have not been altogether realized, and the scheme, as designed and executed, could only be justified by success. Although much good work has been done in Eastern Bengal and Assam, and the Mahomedans of that Province have reaped the benefit of sympathetic administration closely in touch with them, those advantages have been, in a great measure, counterbalanced by the violent hostility which the Partition has aroused amongst the Bengalees. For the reasons we have already indicated, we feel bound to admit that the Bengalees are labouring under a sense of real injustice which we believe it would be sound policy to remove without further delay. The Darbar of December next affords a unique occasion for rectifying what is regarded by the Bengalis as a grievous wrong.—*Despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated 25th August, 1911.*

The first of the above two extracts is from the book of the unofficial apologist and panegyrist of Lord Curzon, the second from the memorable despatch of the Government of India to Lord Crewe, dated the 25th of August last. Placed together in juxta-position, no "deadly parallel" could be more telling. Mr. Lovat Fraser's remarks sum up his conclusions at the end of a prodigious chapter of thirty pages devoted to the Partition—conclusions based upon a distorted view of the measure and its effects, the outcome of a prejudiced mind ; those of the Government of India sum up their views based on an actual experience of the working of Lord Curzon's scheme. "The greatest and most beneficent of Lord Curzon's labours," is declared by the Government, in effect, to have been a failure. "He (Lord Curzon) has not had to wait for the vindication of history"—says Mr. Fraser. That is one of the truest things said by him, for within six years of the inauguration of "the greatest and most beneficent of Lord Curzon's labours," it has been knocked on the head and history has been certainly vindicated once again ! "Wisdom is already justified of her children, he (Lord Curzon) built even better than he knew." Perfectly true, indeed, for if the poor ex-Viceroy had but known that what he was building so strenuonsly in defiance of the people's will, would so soon go the way of all things evil, he would have certainly been wise enough to let things alone, or to adopt some such scheme as has now been carried out. "Within five years the very men who denounced him most were silenced." This is not true but it little matters now, for the men who denounced Lord Curzon have certainly been silenced by the total annulment of the Partition. "It is given to few constructive statesmen to encounter such good fortune"! Well may Lord Curzon now exclaim, "save me from my friends." We trust that if a new edition of the book be called for, Mr. Fraser will rewrite this chapter in the light of the Government of India's despatch. For the rest, Bengalee Hindoos are jubilant and enthusiastic and the Hindoos of other provinces highly gratified. The Mussalmans of West Bengal wanted the reunion, while those of East Bengal, though a little sore at present, will be reconciled to it considering that their majority though reduced is yet maintained throughout the new united Bengal, while their other interests are also duly safeguarded. They should now unite with their Hindu brethren in advancing the interests of their great province—politically, intellectually, socially and morally. The Bengalee Mussalmans have now a great opportunity before them of co-operating with their Hindu fellow-countrymen of Bengal and in helping to lessen the intensity of the strained relations between the two great communities, which the Government of India rightly ascribe as one of the effects of the Partition, and which they justly deplore. Bengalee Mussalmans would do well to bear in mind the following noble lines of that great Irish poet, Thomas Davis—written with especial reference to the internecine feuds between the Irish Catholics and the Irish Protestants—which are singularly appropriate to the case of the Hindus and the Mussalmans of Bengal, who though professing different creeds nevertheless belong to one homogeneous race and speak one language—Bengalee—as their mother-tongue :—

> What matter that at different shrines we pray unto one God?
> What matter that at different times our fathers won this sod?
> In fortune and in fame we're bound by stronger links than steel;
> And neither can be safe nor sound but in the other's weal.
> So start not, Irish-born man, if you're to Ireland true,
> We heed not race, nor creed, nor clan, we've hearts and hands for you.

IV.

So the separation of Behar from Bengal—or, to be accurate, from West Bengal—and its constitution into a full-blown provincial administration—a "Council Government" to start with—is at last an accomplished fact. Speaking at the last session of the

Congress on the resolution for these provinces being placed under a Governor-in-Council, even so well-informed a publicist as Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru betrayed a gross ignorance of Behar affairs when he said that beyond a few paragraphs in their local organ, the Beharees had done nothing to secure the boon now conferred upon them. As a matter of fact, the people of that province have for the last eighteen years strained every nerve to obtain what they have now got and what was clearly their due in 1905, when the Partition of Bengal was effected. The leaders of Behar have been long fighting the cause of the constitution of their province into a self-contained provincial administration in the face of much ill-deserved obloquy and contumely and the sneers and jeers of interested parties; above all, without much encouragement from the other provinces. At last their cause has triumphed, thanks to the earnest solicitude of the Government of Lord Hardinge for their welfare and the justice and strength of their case on its merits. Their satisfaction, therefore, is thoroughly well-deserved and we join our contemporaries in congratulating our friends in the new Province on the great Royal boon—the greatest to them—conferred by the King-Emperor, on the advice of his Ministers. It is not at all surprising that the reception in Behar of the announcement of the administrative re-arrangements has been absolutely enthusiastic. Mass meetings of all classes in most of the cities and towns have been convened to respectfully thank the King-Emperor and his advisers, at which it has been rightly suggested that the 12th December should hereafter be celebrated as a day of annual rejoicing in that Province. It is a singular and significant commentary on Indian politics that the same day is likely to be observed by the Bengalee Hindus in future as one of general rejoicing, in celebration of the reunion of Western and Eastern Bengal. Behar has now before her a task of great magnitude, and we trust she will rise equal to the occasion. Owing to gross neglect on the part of the local Government seated at Belvedere—except during the regime of Sir Andrew Fraser—Behar is still very backward in education and public spirit. She will have to call forth all that is best and greatest in her to become a worthy coadjutor of the older provinces in advancing the cause of Indian progress. It is well that the next session of the National Congress will be held in Asoka's capital of Pataliputra, which—under its new name of Patna—has been rightly chosen as the seat of the Government of the new Province. The greatest need now felt will be that of a well-conducted, high-class daily, and we look forward with interest to see our contemporary of the *Beharee* appear before long in that style. This is the crying need of the hour and we doubt not our friends in Behar will first and foremost direct their attention to this subject. For the rest it is naturally a source of especial satisfaction to us that the scheme formulated by the *Hindustan Review* as to the separation of Behar and Orissa—at the time of the Partition of Bengal—has been at last carried out in its entirety. The re-arrangements will impart a much-needed, healthy stimulus to public activities in the new Province and Beharee patriots and leaders, who are justly proud of the great historic and spiritual traditions of Behar—consecrated as it is by the memory of the Buddha—may well address to their Province the words which Romeo addressed to Juliet, when she lay in the trance that he so fatally mistook for death :—

> Thou are not conquer'd, beauty's ensign yet
> Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
> And death's pale flag is not advanced there.

These thrilling lines are singularly appropriate to Behar's case just at present. Crimson is coming back into the lips and the cheeks of that Province. "Death's pale flag" is for the moment lowered in the presence of a new birth. There is motion in her lips. There is life in her eyes. She seems about to rise and pass once more into the sunlight. Now is the time for her sons to put their shoulder to the wheel and drag the car of her progress over the ruts of backwardness. Advance Behar!

V.

Mr. Harold Spender—a well-known British publicist—writes in the *Morning Leader* of London, with reference to the Royal boons to India that "Home Rule for Ireland is preceded by Home Rule for India and the Eastern Empire is pacified with the same daring as was South Africa." "Would that Ireland," he exclaims, "could receive the same act in the same way!" We think it is exaggerating the significance of the Royal boons to India, out of all proportion, to say that they constitute Home Rule for India, though it must thankfully be admitted that the principle of constituting autonomous provincial governments, laid down in the Government of India's memorable despatch—if duly carried out on truly liberal lines—will mark an epoch in the progress of India towards that self-government which is the creed of educated Indians. But so far as Ireland is concerned, there cannot be any doubt that Home Rule for that country—in the truest sense of the term—is now well within sight: the writing is on the wall, the long struggle is drawing to a climax and the year just begun will probably see the conclusion. Prejudice and passion will again be evoked, no doubt: it is easier to revive animosities than to discard traditional view-points. Half of the injustice in the world is due to misunderstanding, rather than to ill-will or indifference. A clearer view of the past history of Ireland would give emphasis to the present, and moderate the bitterness of the coming campaign. There was a time when Famine and Fenianism were the dominant ideas in an Englishman's consideration of Ireland; and he did not comprehend the significance of either. That time has passed: there is wider, though still incomplete, knowledge. But the electorate is no longer content with unreasoning opposition or denunciation, and the policy of the Liberal Government will be endorsed by the people. Mr. Sydney Brooks, in an article on "The Irish Question", in a recent number of *The Forum*, emphasizes the change that has taken place in the material welfare of Ireland. She is not only more prosperous than she has ever been before, "but is absolutely prosperous—rather more than four million people handling an export and import trade of over $ 600,000,000 a year. The whole level of her social and economic life has been sensibly raised during the past two decades; and when Home Rule becomes a fact, and the passions stirred up by it have subsided, it looks as though the many factors that are making for reconciliation and material progress would be appreciably reinforced. Ireland, indeed, is so well off that many people believe she no longer cares about Home Rule, and that, having got the land, the average Nationalist farmer would be quite content to call a halt to all political controversy." Mr. John Redmond, speaking a little while ago, endorsed this view of the prosperity of the country. Ireland, he said, was no longer distressful, but alert, self-confident, self-reliant, thanks to the settlement of the land question, the university question and the institution of a comprehensive system of local self-government. But he did not admit that the people had been weaned in any way from the idea of self-government: they only felt keener to secure it and more fitted to carry it to a successful realization. The evidence with regard to the well-being of the country will bring satisfaction to her friends and expatriated children. The final accomplishment of Home Rule and the continuance of the present British attitude of conciliation and friendship should lead to an era that will blot out unhappy memories and redeem the deplorable tragedies of the past. Every quarrel ended, every just grievance righted, must be earnestly welcomed by those who wish to give to civilization more and more of its true significance. Men—and women—must consider themselves citizens of "no mean city," of no little, jealous State; their sympathies should be wide enough to include the greater sense of internationalism, which is in no way inconsistent with true patriotism, but gives to the ideals and duties of nationality and liberty their fullest meaning and value. To us in India the fruition of Ireland's hopes has a significance all its own. When India is equally prosperous and rich in material, moral and intellectual wealth, her dreams too of constituting a self-governing unit of the great British Empire will certainly be realized. In the meantime it behoves her children to devote themselves assiduously to the acquisition and development of those great and rare virtues which are the bedrocks of all political constitutions and on which ultimately depends the healthy progress of a State. Formation of character necessary for the satisfactory discharge of public affairs, industrial development and the spread of scientific knowledge are, just at present, the greatest needs of the country. May the new year see a marked progress in these directions!

VI.

The Indian National Congress, the Industrial Conference and the Social Conference—besides other minor Conferences—met in Calcutta in the last week of December. The Social Conference was badly organized—a sad commentary on the boasted advancement of Calcutta. A president had to be improvised and Mr. A. Choudhri made a fairly successful chairman. The session was notable for the fact that a resolution in favour of the Civil Marriage Amendment Bill was passed after a prolonged discussion with only one dissentient vote. This will be encouraging news to lovers of social reform and progress. Tne Industrial Conference was more successful than the Social Conference. In its president, the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy, it found an able and worthy spokesman, whose inaugural address, for its grasp of the economic situation of the country, will take a high rank in the series of the presidential speeches delivered at this Conference. It is a little too comprehensive and might have been more profitably condensed, but the defect, if any, is an error on the right side. The resolutions passed were all practical in the suggestions they embodied, and altogether the Conference did good work. The sitting of the Congress was, for some reason or other, neither so largely attended nor so enthusiastic as it might have been expected to have been in Calcutta, after the revocation of the Partition of Bengal. Possibly the announcement of the removal of the capital to Delhi—

which found a faint and guarded expression in the admirable speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose—was to some extent responsible for it. Be that as it may, the fact mentioned above is undeniable, and it behoves the Congress leaders to address themselves earnestly to setting things right. The success of the Congress may be said, however, to have been due to the inaugural address of the president, Mr. Bishan Narain Dar. Though of the now standard length of Congress presidential addresses, it rises for higher than many of those of its class by its literary grace, width of vision, clearness of outlook, keen insight into the present political conditons of the country and a stamp of deep thoughtfulness, which is refreshingly rare in the political literature of our country. Many parts of it are luminous and brilliant, while no one but will rise from its perusal with a truer appreciation of the intricate problems facing the Government and the country. At the same time it must be said that, as a whole, the speech is more critical than constructive, and leaves an impression of disjointedness and the want of an organic coherence. It is idle to speculate about the causes, as some of our contemporaries have done, but the fact is undeniable that the speech is not marked by any common note of underlying principle pervading all its parts. When this, however, has been said to the contrary and due allowance made for it, the fact remains that Mr. Bishan Narayan Dar's address will rank as a great speech in the literature of the Congress—breathing as it does a note of true patriotism and healthy political progress. We in these provinces who have long since learnt to appreciate the work and worth of the President have been sincerely gratified to find that, except in one or two quarters, his speech has been received by the press of the country with the appreciation it so richly merits. For the rest, the resolutions of the Congress covered a large range of current politics, but the majority of the speeches were not characterised by any striking merits. The two—and the only two—that deserve mention, are those of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale on his Elementary Education Bill and of Mr. Polak on the South African question. Though not in his best form, Mr. Gokhale nevertheless managed to make a very notable contribution to the discussion of the subject he has made his own, while Mr. Polak's speech was no less notable for its being a most lucid and comprehensive exposition of the present position of the Indian problem in the South African colonies of the Empire. The announcement made by Mr. Polak that Mr. Gokhale intends to visit, in the course of the present year, his fellow-countrymen in South Africa so as to familiarize himself thoroughly with the needs and requirements of the Indians in those colonies, has given unbounded satisfaction to all interested—and who amongst us is not?—in the solution of the question of the status of the Indians in all the colonies of the British Empire. Mr. Gokhale also intends visiting England in the course of his tour. We have no doubt that naught but good will result from his forthcoming tour to the best interests of India. Last but not least, a letter is published from the Private Secretary of the Viceroy to the President of the Indian National Congress stating that the resolution welcoming the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress was telegraphed to Their Imperial Majesties and a reply had been received conveying Their Imperial Majesties' high appreciation of this dutiful and loyal message, and that if their visit to India is productive of lasting benefit to this vast land and its peoples, Their Imperial Majesties will still more rejoice that it was possible for them to fulfil the great wish of their hearts.

VII.

The necrology of the closing month of last year is fairly long and December has taken a heavy toll. Most irreparable is the loss sustained by the country in the premature death of Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer, Member of the Madras Executive Council. A man amongst men, one in millions, has passed away in him. Alike as a scholar, lawyer, organizer and administrator, he made his mark and he combined in a rare degree a gigantic intellect with a most loving heart. It is difficult to estimate his loss to the country at this moment; we can hardly realize it. It is sufficient to note that the Government and the people and the organs in the press of all classes and communities have for the nonce joined together in paying their tributes of respect and admiration to the memory of the deceased. We mournfully associate ourselves with our contemporaries in paying our tribute. Another notable South Indian who has passed away is Sir Krishnamurti, late Dewan of Mysore. Descended from the distinguished Mysore Minister, Purniah, he worthily maintained the traditions of the family for administrative ability and his regime as Dewan was popular and successful. In him the State of Mysore has lost a very able, experienced, and faithful adviser. The Punjab has lost two notable figures—the Maharaja Sir Hira Singh of Nabha and the Hon'ble Sardar Partab Singh of Kapurthala. The former was a typical chief of the old style and has died full of years and honours. His successor—the new Maharaja Ripudaman Singh—is a representative of the new school and is likely to do well. He was some time back a nominated member of the Imperial Council and bore himself as was expected of him in that capacity. The late Sardar Partab Singh is the second member of the new Imperial Council who has passed away before the expiry of his term, the first being the late Meer Alla Bakhsh Khan of Sindh. Unlike the latter the Sardar had taken some part in the debates of the Council and was well-known for his very pleasing delivery. He was highly popular in Calcutta society because of his sociability and urbanity. Mrs. Surendranath Banerjee's death was rightly described by Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose—in the course of his speech as chairman of the Congress Reception Committee—as a loss to the whole country, since Mr. Banerjee owes not a little of his success in life to her guidance and foresight. We offer our sincerest condolence to the great Indian leader in the grievous loss he has had the misfortune to sustain. Public life in the western districts of these provinces would certainly be appreciably the poorer on account of the loss sustained in the death of the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Ramanuj Dayal of Meerut. Last but not least the death of so distingnished an Anglo-Indian scientist as Sir Joseph Hooker deserves more than a passing mention. Sir Joseph had rendered valuable scientific services to India, as the award of the G. C. S. I., in 1897 indicated. He was born in 1817 and entered the Royal Navy as a naval surgeon. He first came into prominence in the scientific world by his observations as a naturalist attached to the Ross Antarctic expedition in 1839-43. His researches into the flora of the Southern Seas were epoch-making. Sir Joseph made many other journeys, in which he carried out remarkable researches as geographer, botanist and naturalist, travelling in the Himalayas, Eastern Bengal, the Khasia Mountains, Syria and Palestine, Morocco and the greater Altas, and the Rockiers and California. During his travels in the Himalayas he was detained in prison for some time by the Raja of Sikkim. He was appointed Assistant Director of Kew Gardens and succeeded his father as Director in 1865, and occupied that position till 1885. He was an early friend and supporter of the great Darwin and was the author of many standard works on botany, including *The Flora of British India*. His *Himalyan Journals* is a classic in the literature of travel and is even now, after the lapse of half a century, as fresh as ever.

THE OPEN FORUM:

CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS & COMMENTS.

UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD.

By Mr. Kalindi Prasad.

I HAVE read with very deep interest the thoughtful article on "Universal Brotherhood" written by Prof. P. A. Wadia, M. A., in the *Hindustan Review* for November, 1911. The learned professor, after examining the matter-of-fact world of the past and the present in the light of the doctrine of "Universal Brotherhood", thus bewails :—"The doctrine of 'Universal Brotherhood' appears to be a myth instead of an ideal, a beautiful phantom on which poets may delight and preachers grow eloquent, but scarcely the end towards which men try to lift themselves in their daily life and actions."

Now the doctrine of "Universal Brotherhood" is so far a myth, no doubt, that in spite of the presence of the instinct of the doctrine in the minds of the workers in the field of reforms, it has not yet succeeded in bringing about the construction of the scattered masses into one solid, homogenous whole—it is not a myth so far that it is this very instinct which has saved this world of ours from already having gone into total destruction. And, judging from the signs of the times, one may well say, that unless and until this very instinct comes to our help prominently and in an unmistakable manner we are sadly doomed. For what do we see before us? Dire conventionalism, rigid sectarianism are following, in the wake of the modern civilization. Denominational societies and orthodox institutions are daily cropping up like mushrooms. Hindus and Mahomedans who in the recollection of everybody, were living in perfect harmony as brothers, or as the late Sir Syed Ahmed put it like the two eyes in one's head, are to-day fighting over every possible trifle. If I am not mistaken the estrangement of the feelings is striking deep root in the minds of those in whom one would expect it the least, *viz.*, educated Indians. Illiterate people in towns and suburbs, on the contrary, are living with as much union and harmony as they used to do, say, a hundred years back. Probably ignorance is their redeeming feature. But "where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise." And, strange to say, every step taken towards reconciliation seems to have the effect of making the gulf ever the wider. Christians (with honourable exceptions)—should I not call them brothers? look and behave as if there is nothing in common with us. The spirit of partriotism in the council chambers, on the platform and in the streets, far from healing the wound, seems to breed the poison all the more effectually. What is then the root of all this evil? As a great seer of our times would have it, "there can be no union and love in a country so long as we keep emphasizing each other's faults. The secret of the successful art of living lies in developing the mother's heart to whom all her children are lovely, whether big or babies. True education means to learn to look at the universe through the eyes of God." "Feigned love, false feelings and assumed sentimentalism is an insult to God. A genuine flame is needed even if it be occupied with the smoke of lower passion."

People are anxious for the agreement of their thoughts. But they do not care to wait for the union of the souls. So long as the caste-feeling and race-feeling do not let our hearts unite, it is absurd to think of anything like "Universal Brothethood." How can you know a man unless you love him? Universal love then is *the* determining factor in life. Until this latent faculty is developed, until this flame is kindled in the heart of hearts, it is simply hoping against hope of uniting mankind in one universal brotherhood. That a human heart is capable of melting into the universe, no one, I dare say, can fairly deny. Our occasional experience tells us that a "slight touch of humanity makes the whole world a kin." If this "slight touch" does not develop into a sustained feeling, the principle is not nullified. We have to thank ourselves for our own thickness. Duplicity has no place here. One cannot deceive his own self. You are or you are not.

هم خدا خواهي و هم دنياے دوں
ایں خيال است و محال است و جنوں

Invent any ingenuity you like, display any amount of logic you please, a little knocking at the door of the inmost recess of your heart shall echo forth that the real redemption lies not in what your ingenuity has devised, your logic has established, and it lies in *love* and *love* alone. Feel one with the world and the world is bound by law of Nature to co-operate with you. If you like, think of the *differences* merely—the differences are there. But if you want and sincerely too, the regeneration of mankind, *honestly feel* that there is a universal tie of brotherhood binding you to every creature all around.

Prof. Wadia thinks with Green that "there is no other genuine enthusiasm of humanity than one that has travelled the common highway of reason—the life of the good neighbour and honest citizen—and can never forget that it is only a further stage of the same journey," Yes, charity begins at home, but unfortunately it not unoften ends where it began. Green's traveller on "the common highway of reason" would therefore do well to conscientiously keep himself warm all along with the genuine enthusiasm of reaching the final goal. Like a sailor on an ocean he has to safeguard his ship against stormy weather and treacherous whirlpools.

Religion has from the very beginning of the creation played an important part in moulding men's lives. Religions of the world rightly understood unmistakably reveal that they are harping on the same string, though necessarily in different forms and tunes. If you want to touch the chord of a human heart, if you want to win its affections, if you want to form a real brotherhood among mankind, charge yourself with that magnetism first which draws in all and repulses none. Shall we have "Universal Brotherhood"? Be ready with your sacrifices. For it is the law of Nature that nothing succeeds without a sacrifice. And you have to make your own. The favourite habit of cavilling and maligning each other in season and out of season, hatred, contempt, gnawing jealousy, innate prejudices, have all to be sacrificed at the very threshold of the God of Truth. Let us unfurl the flag of universal love inviting men of every creed and colour not for the purpose of preaching orthodoxy, not for the purpose of delivering eloquent speeches, but with the sole and stern object of appreciating and studying one another's religious literatures and thereby helping one other to realize the august truth that there is only one trumpet which blows life into all.

Let a Mahomedan make an earnest attempt at appreciating the jewels enshrined in the *Bagwat gita*. Let a Hindu throw off his reserve and make a genuine effort at diving deep into the sacred teachings of the Bible and the Quran. Let us cultivate the habit of putting ourserlves into that spirit in which Mahomed, Christ, Ram, Krishna and Lord Buddha appeal to us with an equal force. Eternal truths are eternal everywhere. This is, perhaps, the way in which a genuine familarity and good will among mankind can possibly be created. The estrangement will then be on the wane. The pungency of the minor difference in the modes of life will then be much minimised. And gradually, in fulness of time, when the prejudices rub off, the heart of man will become a fitting altar for the God of " Universal Love " to descend in all His majesty. Unless the All-Powerful God of Love encamps, victory over the warring elements of the world is a fiction, pure and simple.

Sir K. G. Gupta and Indian Aspirations.

Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta is an executive and not a judicial officer. His duties are akin to those of a minister, and he speaks with the freedom of a minister. In a paper which he recently read at the Crystal Palace—the full text of which appears in the Decemder *Hindustan Review*—he dwelt on Indian history and British Indian administration. In that paper he spoke with candour and courage as to what was the ultimate goal of his countrymen and what should be the policy of the British Government in India. While there is a growing consciousness of the drawbacks of an alien rule," said Sir Krishna Govind, "there is also a wide spread conviction that national salvation is to be attained under the fostering care and guidance of Great Britain, and the best minds among Indians, of all races and creeds, eagerly gaze towards the goal which will bring them on a level with the self-governing Colonies, so that India may take her proper position in the British Empire, not as a mere dependency but on terms of equality and co-ordination." The proper position of India, therefore, is that she should occupy a position of equality and co-ordination with the self-governing Colonies of the British Empire. India is not to be a mere dependency but an equal member among the federated States of the British Empire. Lord Morley may, indeed, declare that his imagination cannot pierce into a time when India will have parliamentary institutions. But a member selected by himself for the India Council is not burdened with the limitations which the great philosophic statesman has imposed upon himself and boldly declares that a self-governing autonomous India is our goal. The first step, indeed, has been taken, and that too by no other person than lord Morley himself. He who pronounces against parliamentary institutions for India for all time to come, will, we are convinced, go down to posterity as the Simon de-Montford of the future parliament of India. The greatest amongst us is not without his contradictions. And as Lord Morley in his Life of Burke enters upon an elaborate disquistion to reconcile the contradictions of his great master, so some future biographer of Lord Morley will have a kindred task imposed upon him. Sir Krishna Govinda points out that although anarchism is a danger, " all appreciable accession to their ranks will be effectually prevented by making the people feel that Britain holds India in trust in order to fit her for self-government. It is the realisation in practice of the great truth that Britain is the trustee of India to qualify her for self-government that will make British rule a blessing to the people and a source of eternal honour to England. Education will qualify the people of India for the duties of self-government", and "education," says, Sir Krishna Gobind, "must reach the masses, so that it may dispel racial and religious animosities." When men like Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta and Mr. S. P. Sinha, who have held the highest offices under the Government, voice what is really the programme of the Congress, it must be held that that programme represents wide-spread national aspriations, shared even by those who are in the service of the State.—The *Bengalee*.

The full text of the paper read by Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta, at the Crystal Palace, London, in August last, in connection with the Festival of Empire and published in the current *Hindustan Review*, makes it clear not only how much need there was for saying what he said on an occasion of that kind, but how well he said it. It will be remembered that the address was subjected to a good deal of criticism in some quarters at the time. It was bluntly said that Sir Krishna Gupta as soon as he felt his official trammels gave him greater freedom in London spoke, like—a Congressman. There was a hint that Sir Krishna showed something like ingratitude; in giving expression to such views, seeing that he attained to one of the highest and most coveted posts open to Indians. It was openly said that it was disappointing that an administrator of his experience should have given expression to sentimental and doctrinaire views. Yet, it has apparently been overlooked by these critics that it is possible to view the matter from another standpoint. If an official of officials like, Sir Krishna Gupta after his long experience can speak like a Congressman, is it not possible that there is something in the Congress view. Is it not likely that it brings us nearer to the truth in matters political and administrative than the bureaucratic view. Sir Krishna Gupta's case does not stand alone. Just now, our venerated and distinguished conntryman, Sir S. Subramania Iyer, also a retired high official. In the first of a series of articles to an Allahabad paper on the achievements of British rule in India he gives expressions to precisely the same views as Sir Krishna Gupta holds. Sir Krishna Gupta said at the Crystal Palace that "the best minds among Indians of all races and creeds eagerly gaze towards the goal which will bring them on a level with the self-governing colonies, so that India may take her proper position in the British Empire, not as a mere dependency but on terms of equality and co-ordination.' Sir Subramania Iyer writes to the *Leader* that the work done as yet by England in India is but the laying down of the foundation. "The fitting superstructure thereon will be to elevate the latter to a position that would vest in and devolve on it the enjoyment of rights and performance of duties similar to those enjoyed and performed by other parts of the Empire.' When two such men whose breeding and circumstances have been widely different, a Europeanised Bengali Civilian and an Orthodox Southern Brahmin ex-Judge, both of whom have been known for the ultra-sobriety of their views hold the same opinion, it does not look on the face of it thal they are giving expression to sentimental and doctrinaire views. Sir Krishna Gupta gave expression to what the whole of educated India is thinking and aspiring after as a realisable ideal. The long historical sketch he prefaced to his remarks on the present situation in India was needed in order to bring home to the minds of his hearers that India has an ancient civilisation, which "in many respects has not been surpassed." The inference is, of course, that what India has once been in the past she may, under favourable circumstances, be once again in the future The potentiality of greatness lies in her. In fact we can already discern the beginnings of a new renascence. Such being the case, Sir Krishna Gupta wanted to impress on the people of Great Britain and especially the people of the British Dominions that what India aims at, and rightly too, is equality in the fulness of time, with the other members of the British Empire. She will not for ever be content with occupying a dependent position.—The *Madras Standard.*

A certain portion of Sir Krishna Gupta's recent paper on "Indian History and British Indian Administration" published in the December *Hindustan Review*—provoked criticism in certain circles in this country. We extracted that portion yesterday; and we wonder what there was in it to call for the criticism that Sir Krishna had spoken in forgetfulness of his official position and in disregard of official etiquette. One has no difficulty in admitting that Government officials ought not to ordinarily identify themselves with political controversies, especially such controversies, as embitter feeling among any class of His Majesty's subjects. But Sir Krishna Gupta's paper has no reference to any question on which the feelings of any section of His Majesty's subjects can be embittered, Partly it is a historical disquisition, and in part a survey of India and a forecast of its place in the Empire. Except to those in India who are averse to the advancement of the Indian people there is nothing of politics in the paper It is certainly no offence to say that the Empire should be strengthened and consolidated by the equal contentment and co-operation of all its parts, and that all peoples who belong to it must feel equal satisfaction and pride in belonging to it. There can be no large organisation of any kind unless the parts constituting its work towards the same end; and a great imperial organization cannot be worked on any other principle. The British Empire is unique in its composition. The bulk of its citizens are alien races, divided among themselves by differences of history, traditions, colour and custom. The only tie that unite them is the political tie. All belong to one common Empire, all owe allegiance to one common Sovereign, and all are governed according to one common principle of freedom and justice. Conditions may vary in different parts and temporary schemes of government may have to be devised to suit particular conditions. But the conditions and schemes are temporary, the principles are fixed and immutable. The movement throughout the world is towards the realisation of the common principle for all, towards the attainment of common ideal. To set up different political ideals for different peoples within the Empire is hopeless. India must have the same ideal as the rest of the Empire if it is to be as strong and valuable.

Sir Krishna Gupta says nothing more. He points out that the people have an ancient civilization, far more ancient than the civilization of any other portion of the globe, that though fallen low, they are being gradually roused to a sense of their own greatness and of their future possibilities under the fostering care of Britain; that they, the best minds among them, eagerly gaze towards the goal which will bring them on a level with the self-governing colonies so that India may take her proper position in the British Empire, not as a mere dependency, but on terms of equality and co-ordination. The question is whether this eagerness and aspiration should be met with sympathetic response or it should be intolerantly rejected as some of Sir Krishna's critics in India would do. British statesmanship, finding without authoritative expression, has never left any room for doubt on this point, and the recent policy of His Majesty's government, deliberately pursued, has confirmed Indians in their belief in the long affirmed policy and faith of Britain. "To that venerable and clear sighted statesman, Lord Morley, is due," said Sir Krishna, "the credit of introducing far reaching reforms in the proper direction, and it will be the duty of his successors to extend and amplify his policy of trust and confidence." So far as we have advanced, we have advanced well, and we have justified the wisdom of statesman which enabled us to advance. We are not likely to stand where we are, nor shall we fall back from where we are. Britain has fully recognised this fact. The self-governing colonies have yet to recognise it. So Sir Krishna directed his appeal particularly to them.

Loyal colonists should not treat India with indifference or contempt. They must recognise with Sir Krishna that the British dominions would cease to be an Empire without India, for it is India that has given the Imperial title to the Sovereign of England. It is India again that has developed some of the best talents of England, that has brought prosperity to England's trade and business. Though the colonists may not realise all this, England will, though England's will has not hitherto prevailed with them. A critical stage will soon reach in the relations of India to the colonies. Already there have been attempts at retaliation. The Government of India have been obliged to pass a law against one of the colonies. Against other colonies the Government will be pressed to take retaliatory action. The Government cannot certainly resist the pressure consistently with its regard and responsibility for its own people; and India will not be satisfied unless all possible steps are taken. England will find itself in the most difficult position in the face of these Indo-colonial disputes. While she will feel it obligatory to respect the independence of the colonies, she will also feel it her interest and her duty not to alienate Indian feeling by permitting portions of the Empire to treat India with intolerance and contempt. And colonists, who are loyal to the Empire and feel their obligation not to impair is solidarity and strength, will be bound to help England to remove the cause of Indo-colonial acrimony, provoked by their own attitude and policy. The colonists themselves enjoy all the advantages of British citizenship in India. They can reside and trade, and can acquire and own property in India. They can hold appointments in its Army and in its Civil Service, in common with Englishmen. When Indians go to England they can enjoy all these advantages there; but when they move towards the colonies, they find different laws and unknown restrictions against them. India will never allow these laws and restrictions to be enforced against her sons while the colonists enjoy every possible advantage in India. The next session of the Imperial Legislative Council will, as already announced, be asked to deal with some of these matters; and it cannot deal with them in any other way, than that in which it dealt with the question of emigation to Natal. It is certain that India will strain every nerve to compel the colonies either to treat Indians as equal subjects or to give up India as a field for trade, exploitation or service —The *Indian Patriot.*

The Depressed Classes.

One point of exceptional interest is that raised by Mr. P. M. Anandan in the Durbar issue of the *Hindustan Review.* The gist of the writer's remarks is that if the granting of boons to any special sections of the community is contemplated, attention ought to be drawn to the position of what are called the "depressed classes." Their are, according to Mr. Anandan, sixty millions of "unapproachables" and "untouchables" in India who receive anything but pleasant treatment from the higher castes, and he pleads for the recognition of their rights in proportion to those of their more fortuuate fellow-countrymen. In the first place he asks if the Government have not a right to put down the tyranny of caste over caste, just as much as it has abolished customs, such as "thuggism" and "sati." He suggests that the British Government is indifferent to the sufferings of the depressed classes and yet in another portion of his paper he admits that in the absence of British rule the continued repression of low castes would have brought about a wholesale migration or revolution resulting in social emancipation. If the British occupation has prevented the revolution which Mr. Anandan seems to fear the charge of ignoring the needs of the lowest classes of the country would be difficult to substantiate. However that may be, there is no doubt that the contention that much might be done for the low castes is a just one. Mr. Anandan's principal proposition is the establishment of an officer designated the "Protector of the Depressed Classes" with an adequate staff to assist him to co-operate with the movement which has been started among many eminent men for the amelioration of the condition of the lowest castes. Another suggestion is that Government should give utterance to a distinct policy upon this matter and should thus open up a way for the necessary legislation which he contends will be essential to a successful attack upon the subject.—The *Empire.*

There is certainly originality as well as merit in the proposal which Mr. P. M. Anandan, B. A., L. T., propounds in the current number of the *Hindustan Review* under the title—"The Coronation and the Depressed Classes." Every public body, every public journal, every man in the street has put forward some scheme or other for the commemoration of the Royal visit. Most of the suggestions are fanciful, and a few, though practical, are impracticable. Mr. Anandan, we do not think, will have the satisfaction of seeing his idea realised—not at any rate by the means which he proposes, but there is merit in his suggestion, as it embodies very liberal sentiments towards a community that is badly looked after in these days of progressive aspirations.

The writer is correct in saying that the treatment which the upper crust of Hindu society metes out to the "untouchables" and "unapproachables" is "a slur upon our boasted civilisation and on the professed tolerant spirit of Hinduism." Some of the customs are manifestly out of place in modern India. In Malabar, the low-caste man is required before his superior to take off the upper cloth hanging from his shoulder, to thrust it under the armpit, and to cover his mouth with the palm of the hand as a mark of humiliation. Certain castes are prohibited from using the highways in rural parts and villages and the lanes and by-ways in towns and cities. In some parts, the "unapproachable" is required to issue a shrill sound to warn any high caste man against approaching him and being polluted by his touch. The writer points out that in the Dravidian tract of Southern India, which includes the Madras Presidency, Mysore, Hyderabad, Travancore and Cochin, there are over 27 millions of souls whose touch or approach pollutes the higher castes.

It is on behalf of these "untouchables" and "unapproachables" that Mr. Anandan pleads for a Coronation boon. He suggests that the State should intervene to raise the submerged, and that some pronouncement may be made on the subject by the King-Emperor. The writers zeal is praiseworthy, but his plan of action, we are afraid, lies outside the pale of practical politics. In the first place, the King-Emperor is not here to make a pronouncement on social reform; secondly, the reform which is suggested lies within the province of the people and not of the State. The State fulfils its function by dispensing equal treatment to all. In fact, equality is the fundamental basis of British law. The Brahmana and the Sudra are liable to one kind of penalty, should they transgress the law. Social complexities must adjust themselves by social ordinances. The State has got schools, hospitals and asylums which are open to all, irrespective of caste or creed. If the Brahmana does not tolerate the Sudra it is the Brahmana's fault. One remedy for this state of things is public opinion; another is education. Of the two, education is the surer remedy. When the "untouchable" is educated, he will learn to assert himself. Mr. Anandan sees "the smouldering of a conflagration in the distant future", that is, an uprising, of the depressed classes against their social tyrants. Already, among the Shanars, Mahars and Namasudras, the spirit of defiance is visible. If Hindu orthodoxy is wise, it will take time by the forelock and win over the disaffected by an attitude of sympathy and toleration. Even though Mr. Anandan's suggestion is not a practicable one, it is a suggestion that a lover of Indian progress must welcome as a sign of the growing feeling of the educated community against the unrighteousness of a social system that has sapped the strength, crippled the energy and narrowed the outlook of Hindu Society. Perhaps Mr. Anandan's eloquent appeal may move some generous hearted and public-spirited Indian to commemorate the Royal visit by founding, say, a free residential institution for the youths of the depressed classes. Will it not be glorious if the first batch of graduates from the proposed Hindu University of Benares happen to include youths belonging to the "Unapproachable and untouchable" community?—The *Indian Mirror*.

Mahomedan Education.

The current number of *The Hindustan Review*, which is especially rich in interesting matter, contains an article by Dr. C. F. Thwing, DL.D., entitled "El-Azhar, the University of Cairo," in which the writer, after describing the present system of higher education in Cairo, proceeds to discuss the utility of Mahomedan educational methods, and their adaptability to modern needs. Cairo is now the chief school of higher education in the Moslem world, the embodiment of Moslem educational ideals, and may, therefore, for the purposes of the present article be taken as typical of the methods we are about to discuss. Further, although situated in Egypt, El-Azhar attracts students from all the countries of the Moslem world, from Morocco, India, Persia, Arbia, and Turkey, as well as from the less civilized regions of Moslem Africa, and its influence over modern Mahomedan ideals is not, therefore, by any means inconsiderable. In India until comparatively recent years, it was an undoubted, if a regrettable, fact, that the Mahomedan population was far more backward than the Hindu, and that owing to the former's neglect of the modern educational facilities provided by the Government, they were being left behind in the struggle for the official loaves and fishes, as well as in other ways. This fact attracted the attention of the Government, and attempts were made in various ways to induce the Mahomedans to avail themselves of the advantages of a Western education, but all to no purpose. The founding of special schools, the concession of special rates of fees, the encouragement of the Mahomedan vernaculars and the classcial languages and the appointment of a special staff to deal with Mahomedan educational work—all these were a failure—and nothing apparently could be done. The Government and all those who interested themselves in the problems of Mahomedan education were met with the unbending opposition of the elder generation of Mahomedans, who claimed, not without justice, that a Western education, being of a purely secular nature, would demoralize their young men, and render them indifferent to authority. With the example of the Bengali Hindus before them, who had taken greedily to Western education, with the worst results, the Government could not well reply to this argument, and it appeared as though the Mahomedans of India would have to depend always on the conventional system of education they obtained from their Moulvis and Mullahs, and which, though it may have made them excellent theologians, did not in any way fit them for earning a living, whether in Government service, in the learned professions, or elsewhere. The nature of this primitive system of education may be seen from Dr. Thwing's description of the work done at El-Azhar. At this institution, which is a mosque with priests for teachers, the Koran for a text book, and classical Arabic as a medium of instruction, religious teaching is the first consideration. The young pupil, after he has mastered the Arabic characters and Grammar, is instructed in theology and scriptural history. After this follows instruction in logic and in jurisprudence, based on the Koran, and finally there are courses in rhetoric and the right method of reciting the Koran. Whole passages from the sacred Book are committed to memory, and the cleverest pupils pride themseves on knowing by rote the whole of the Koran.

This kind of education does not, naturally, tend to stimulate thought. It promotes a mental apathy, not a reasoned conservatism, and, above all, it produces narrow and bigoted minds. On the other hand it has two merits : the residential system, and the care of the pupils' morals and the value attached to the personal influence of the teacher. How to avoid the evil and retain the merits of this system is what Indian Mahomedans have to consider, and this problem has already been solved at Aligarh, and will be solved on a larger scale at the proposed Moslem University.—The *Madras Times*.

Evolution of the Kingship.

The Indian Conception of Kingship, so strikingly demonstrated on this auspicious occasion of the Royal visit, has made a profound impression on the democratic West. It has made many thinking people thoughtful and men who have given some attention to the subject are busy comparing notes. An English writer in the current number of the *Hindustan Review* has entered into a deep study of the evolution of the philosophic basis of the Kingship in order to see in the light of history, past and present, which are the true bases upon which a civilised community ought to build its constitution and government. The writer in the *Hindustan Review* analyses the feeling on the subject as commonly manifested in Europe to-day and endeavours to show that it is possible to find a *media via* whereby the old regime, which has witnessed so many changes both in conception and practice, may be preserved and exemplify its solidarity by a long continued existence —*The Punjabee.*

The Hindustan Review.

The *Hindustan Review* for December has been published with commendable punctuality. Our local contemporary is a very stout number, filling nearly three hundred pages of solid printed matter and is much more than ordinarily interesting as a special Durbar number. We have there character-sketches of their Imperial Majesties the Emperor and Empress of India, and of Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael and Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar. The scenes and sights of Calcutta and Delhi are described elaborately and will be found of special use and interest by visitors to the metropolis of India and the 'Rome of Asia' during the present month. Mr. Lovat Fraser's book on Lord Curzon is reviewed by Mr. S. K Ratcliffe. Besides these there are the editorial notes and nine articles by different contributors. The Hon. Mr. Sinha, the editor, may well be congratulated on the production.—The *Leader.*

A POEM: THE DELHI CORONATION DARBAR.

12th December, 1911.

I.

'Who conquers self can rule his race,
Who conquers race the whole world sways :—
Go forth, ye scions of the venturous West,
Whom Honour lifts above the rest,
Reason, Balance, and Prescience,
Rich Resource and staid Reliance
On Man 's high destiny—
Go forth, my chosen Knights of Liberty
To where old Bharath's factions brood,
By brutal passion driven,
Undo the work of Heaven
And float her in each other's blood.
Lo, where she sits distraught, her matted locks,
Choked breath and welling eyes, her form
Dimmed like the morn behind a storm,
Oh, how it shocks !—
But speed, come wear this charm of Sympathy,
It melts to forge the universal heart,
And this of Charity
Which stamps it of angelic sort.
Now wing her cheer, wing hope from me,
Part each clashing creed and race,
Take in trust her happiness
And o'er Confusion's grave instal sweet Peace and Harmony.'

II.

In the sisterhood of nations
Hind was eldest, God's first-born,
Fondled, petted, gem-like worn
Next the heart—her girlish fashions
Blossomed ere the wish was sown.
Nature, true courtier-wise,
Did from her cornucopeia pour
Her choice oblations store on store ;
Her dower was gorgeous and bright,
In her earth's powers and all earth's charms unite,
A word in miniature,
An earthly Paradise.
The suns of all the skies

Attend each with his various suite
Of life and requisite;
The seasons wait, clad in distinctive guise,
Each glorying in her chance to unloose
All at her favoured feet
Their bounteous handiwork of beauty and of use.
Next under stern discipline placed
She learnt to obey and sacrifice,
Do all for love and mind no earthly prize;
Be pious, righteous, chaste,
Be grateful, faithful, loyal,
Noble, urbane and royal,—
Till like the spotless orient pearl
That decks the fresh-blown jasmine's brow
While just the curtains of the East begin to furl,
She brimmed with heavenly worth
And cast around the earth
Example's iris glow.
The Heavenly daughter's care
Then the sister Muses bear,
One inspires the secret charm
The citadel of the heart to storm
With joy and sorrow not its share,
Another lends a sharp searchlight
To reconnoitre Nature's might,
So combat and win
And break her in
With arms snatched from her giant strength,—
So raise man's stature to ideal length,
And make Life wholesome and sweet
And Earth with joy replete.
Now hers the master key
To life's astounding mystery,
The radiant child with pearly laughter
Clutches it and runs to ope
The realms of golden hope
For here and hereafter.
Dauntless she plunged in deep and trod,
With slow and searching plod,
The winding paths—Creation to Creation's God
Till like the meaner stars before the Sun,
The many melt away in the Everlasting One.

III.

Light of the East, Examplar of Mankind,
Garden and granary of the Earth loveliest of things.

It filled the Almighty heart to find,
His marvel of firstlings.
He drew her, close to bosom pressed,
And with a Father's fondness blessed
'Who weds Thee Lords the Earth !'
The dulcet accents distil through the air,
Hind's halo flares across from land to land
From near and far Ambition seeks her hand
By prospect lured so resplendent, so rare.

The suitors, see O how they pour
Filing past the north-west door,
What they would not do or dare
For one soft, sweet smile of the Fair !
? O'er fifty nations one was lord,
Him next to none all East obeyed
'Nother a hundred conquests scored,
Young, valiant, chivalrous, high-bred,
But ah ! they lusted after gold or fame,
And neither melted to love's holy flame
A third for high emprise though made,
Was grasping, cribbed and bigoted,
Twelve times, by Mammon led, he swooped,
His camels under weight of plunder stooped,—
Not while Death's grip was on
With all life's hoard at bedside drawn,
Remorse once touched his inner self,
He wept, but a reluctant farewell to his pelf.
See like a storm how yet another sweeps,
At his approach Earth quails,
The golden Ceres bleeds,
The untenanted village weeps,
The orphan wails,
The ravished woman pleads—
But this but whets his rage for fouler deeds,
Cold, cruel, merciless,
Base and insidious,
It chills the blood and stills the tongue
To think of Timur Lung
What hast Thou not endured, my motherland,
At many a viler hand !
But O, thy life of love

Hath its millennium now.
Never was blacker night,
Never it ushered dawn so bright.

IV.

All like herself Hind kept her heart
And to her destined master true
Let each the tourney join and play his part
In the alternate game of win and rue.
Meanwhile rank Anarchy was King,
Licence lawgiver, armed Death spread his wing,
His altars, Race, Religion, Power
Instantly reeked with gore.
Disease and hungry Famine stalked to feast
With talons far outstretched on man and beast.
For once the heart of oak begins to rip,
For once a prayerful doubt steals through the lip:
'Why, Lord, hast Thou forsaken me?'—
The fateful prayer, the pregnant why!
That thrill the throne of the Most High,
One seals the trust, one tries the love.
The hearts of child and Sire that move—
God smiled and wiled 'My Bharat shall be free'!

V.

Far, far away
In regions of the friendly beam
Embroidered on the purple stream,
Rise the bright isles where Freemen stay.
Staid, sober, resolute,
Deep, thorough and astute,
Their peer is none,
Nowhere in realms beaneath the Sun.
To them no kin but man, no home but Earth,
No wrong but bondage and misrule.
The meanest of them grounds and copes his school
Accomplished ne'er to reckon worth
By rule of birth.
The Heavenly purpose stirs a willing chord,
Proud of the hest,
Glad Britain spares the best
Out of her teeming Talent's hoard.
The day, the happy, happy day,
Hind wakes her dormant charms,
Walks up and hails with open arms
Her long predestined saviour and mainstay.
Where O, where all the foes her fall that sought?
Dispelled to shreds like clouds before the blast.
The rapine, carnage, plot and counterplot?
All, all but stories of the past.

Her peace built on a rock,
Her treasure under jealous lock,
See how the Lion with the flaming sword
Her golden gates doth guard.
The jarring accents of her lute,
Mahratta, Muslim, Sikh, Rajput,
Now turned all in one key
Blend into harmony
Of reverence to Britain's Majesty.
The tiger and the deer in quiet cool
Drink of the stream of mighty England's rule.
O wonderous feat of arms ! But Britain's power
Is not the power of sword, but brains that tower ;
Of wisdom and benevolence—
The proudest boast of lofty sense.
The mightiest Empire on Earth,
Yet noblest, in her keeping thrive
Our rights and dignities of birth.
Our scruples, even prejudices live.
Commerce and Science both contrive
To draw us into Life's beehive.
The brawny thews of Art and Industry
Recover from forced atrophy.
The intellect awakes and blooms
And her world-circling ecstacy resumes.
The torch that once we lit and held aloft
Now flames in England's hand in turn to waft
Its high augmented glory o'er the land.
The Sun that once rose in the East
Now lights the West,
But casts a mellow, loving glance behind.

VI.

God bless the British sway,
The mind that framed it and the hands that stay,
May hand in hand and heart in heart,
Hind and Britain never part.
Sage and sprightly, deep and free,
Godly and wordly, kind and masterly,
Let East and West,
Each on the other rest,
And both resolve the problem of Humanity.
Great in virtue, great in power,
What a glorious star doth tower

Through the mists of space and time!
All our progress, all our prime,
All that peace and plenty brings,
Round her blessed memory clings.
A mother of her people, mother of kings,
All through the honoured length
Of day she stood our guard,
In our contentment was her strength,
Our gratitude reward.
Time hath no terrors for her name,
Ever through changing suns the same,
For wisdom, justice, rectitude,
Claim always their Victoria the Good.
Her not less Royal son,
Heir to her throne in hearts of men,
Poised his Empire on tact and love,
Wings of his fonding Dove,
Of Peace—
A sweet world-force, his voice did move,
In courts of Kings to high resolve.
His name a charm,
A call to nations to disarm,
A golden rule for human destinies.

VII.

To-day his mantle on thine arms doth shine,
Flower of the kingly line,
A surging fifth of human race,
On joint devotion's silken cushion bring,
And o'er thy hallowed brow do place
Their ancient crown and hail thee King,
In the heart of aged Delhi, great nerve-centre of Empire,
Whole life's tale more strange than fiction breathes from every dome and spire,
Where proud kingdoms clashed and floated on the rapids of old Time,
Till the mighty Moghul overtopped them all and reigned sublime.
The proudest princedoms of the Earth
Majestic pillars of Empire,
Who trace their royal birth
Back to the Sun, the Moon and Fire,
Whose deeds of noble enterprise,
Whose chivalry and sacrifice
Enraptured fame ne'er wearies to relate
Turn out in splendid state,

Lay down their sword and bow in awe
Before their Shah-en-Shah !
Not less reverent do unite
The children of the western light
The pride and glory of thy Raj
Yet servants in thy noble charge.
In thee all Bharath joys to see
Her Emblem of prosperity,
Defender of her peace,
The champion of her liberties.
So clad in gala grace
With happy shining face,
Mid roll of drum and trumpet peal,
Mid boom of gun and flash of steel
Mid clash of hoof and clap of hand
While all her puissant forces, round her band,
She stoops in lowly majesty,
And hands to thee
The sceptre and the orb of Royalty.
The stars do shine propitious on the hour,
The powers of Earth and Heaven their choicest blessings shower.
Three hundred million hearts go forth in prayer,
The King of Earthly Kings may spare,
Their George and Mary ever dear,
For many and many a glorious year—
Spare England's flag to rule these skies and waft in gentle wind,
Glory on England's name and peace and happiness on Hind.

Fort, Vizianagram. Y. NARAYANA MURTY.

THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—"*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard*." (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Literator*.)

MOTTO II.—"Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thought or points of view; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange. (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revolation*.)

Kayastha Loyalty.

We are requested by Munshi Prem Behari, Subordinate Judge, Jaunpore, to publish the following telegrams exchanged between him and the Private Secretary of the King-Emperor and on which we may comment later:

> All-India Kaysthas of British India representing the most loyal and educated Indian subjects offer their hearty greetings and sincere congratulations. May Heaven's choicest blessings be poured on your Majesty and Royal Consort and the journey be fruitful of good to us.

> The Private Secretary is commanded to convey Their Imperial Majesties' thanks to the All-India Majesties for their loyal telegram.

The Kayastha Conference.

We are requested to announce that the next sesssion of the Kayastha (Educational) Conference will be held at Ajodhya on the 6th, 7th and 8th of April. Those interested in the movement should put themselves in communication with Babu Mahabir Prasad, Pleader, Fyzabad, who is the Secretary of the Reception Committee.

An Executive Council for the United Provinces.

The question which we are discussing now formed the subject of a resolution which was moved in the Council of the Governor-General on the 24th of January last by our distinguished countryman, Hon. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha. In a speech of singular ability and force Mr. Sinha made out an unanswerable case for these provinces. The great array of authorities that he quoted in his speech show that some of the highest officials in the country have also advocated the same view as Mr. Sinha did in the Council and as we are doing now. Indeed, Sir George Chesney, admittedly a great authority on Indian administration, went a step further and recommended in his well-known book—'Indian Policy'—the appointment of a Governor and an executive council for these provinces. The Decentralization Commission were of opinion that 'the Lieutenant-Governors of the larger provinces are clearly overburdened' and that 'even if a Lieutenant-Governor could dispose of all the work demanding consideration at the hand of the Provincial Government we think that such powers are too wide to be expediently entrusted to one man however able or zealous.' They suggested that the hands of Lieutenant-Governors should be strengthened by the creation of executive councils. Why then did not our provinces get an executive council? The plain truth is, as was pointed out by the Hon. Mr. Jenkins in reply to Mr. Sinha, that Sir John Hewett did not want a council. Speaking on behalf of the Government, the Home Member then said that 'as long as Sir John Hewett continues to be the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, we should take no action towards the provision of a council. *After that we shall see.*' Now it is plain therefore that the resolution in the Council was defeated more upon personal grounds than upon any other, and it is also plain, as will appear from the words that we have italicised above, that the Government of India themselves recognise that the granting of the claim of these provinces cannot be deferred too long. We willingly agree with the Hon. Mr. Jenkins that 'Sir John Hewett is not only a man of supreme ability but he possesses marvellous powers of dealing quickly and efficiently with business', but then, as the Hon. Mr. Sinha pointed out, there are not many Sir John Hewetts in the Civil Service, and the principle for which we contend is wholly independent of personalities.—The *Leader*.

The All-India Kayastha Re-union.

Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra, retired Judge of the Calcutta High Court and President of the Bangadesheeya Kayastha Sabha for the current Bengali year, was at home at the house of the Honourable Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, in Calcutta, to Kayasthas all over India. The attendance was large and the party a great success. Amongst those present, besides several members of the Sabha and non-members, were :—Sir C. M. Ghose, Sir B. K. Basu (Nagpur), Hon. Mr. S. Sinha (Allahabad), and Major B. D. Basu (Allahabad). There were also present Mr. N. Krishnamachariar (Vellore), Mr. C. Vijiaraghva Chariar (Salem) and Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E. Several telegarms and letters were received from gentlemen from all parts of India regretting inability to attend. The guests enjoyed a very pleasant evening and were treated to light refreshments in orthodox style. There were a few short addresses in Bengali and Hindustani on the desirability and usefulness of a union of Kayasthas all over India and the necessity of the adoption of uniform customs everywhere, including the taking of the holy thread in Bengal. The Kayasthas who were honoured recently with Government titles were then congratulated and Mr. Bhupendranath Basu was thanked for kindly allowing the party to be held at his residence. There was the recitation of a short poem on the visit of the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress composed by a Kayastha boy of eight.

The Zamana.

The Royal Durbar number of the *Zamana* contains two tri-colour plates and twenty-four other half-tone portraits. It opens with a fine little poem on the Coronation Durbar by the renowned poet, Dr. Iqbal. A life sketch and an appreciation of Their Imperial Majesties are written by Khan Bahadur Kazi Aziz-uddin, M. R. A. S., and Lala Madan Gopal, M. A., respectively. Pandit Sheo Narain Shamim of Lahore writes on some prominent characteristics of our new King-Emperor and Khan Bahadur Mirza Sultan Ahmad on the significance of the Imperial Durbar at Delhi. The Editor describes the Coronation Ceremony of Their Imperial Majesties at the West Minister Abbey. Mr. Ram Saran Nigam, B. A., S. C., describes in a well written article, all the previous Darbars of the British Government. Some other articles of great historical value follow next. Rae Purbhu Lal, B. A., of Hyderabad, tells us how Yudhistra of Mahabharat fame celebrated his coronation by performing Asomadh Yagya at Inderprast at the spot where Badshahi Mela was so successfully held during their Majesties' visit to Delhi. M. Debi Prasad, the famous Rajputana historian, describes the coronations of Moghul Emperors. M. Mohammad Aziz Mirza, B. A., relates the story of a coronation ceremony of an Eastern King in the West. Mr. Hargobind Prasad, M. A., writes a brief history of the Imperial Delhi. All these articles are profusely illustrated. Besides many photos of Their Imperial Majesties and the Royal Princes, there are portraits of the Durbars of Shah Jehan, Aurangzeb, and Madho Rao Scindhia, and a large number of historic buildings of Delhi. The Durbar poems of well-known poets, Hazrats Sharar, Mahroom, Aziz, Nadir, Badr, Faruq, Mahshar, and Wahshat—bring the number to close. Altogether this number is a unique publication.

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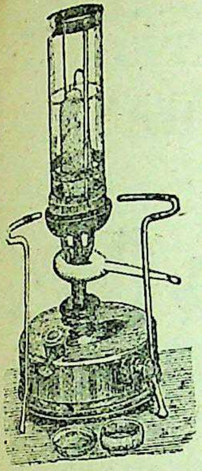

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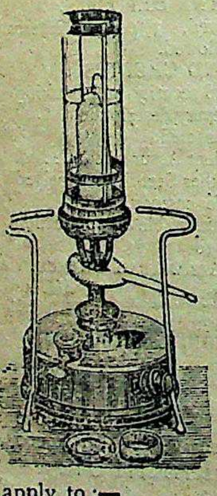

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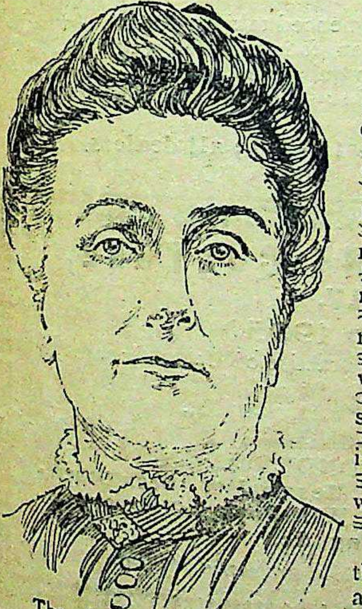

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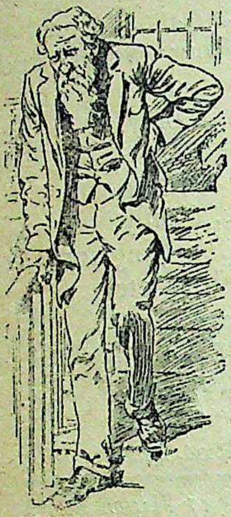

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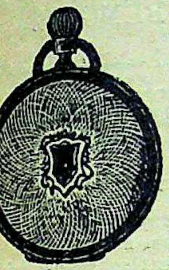

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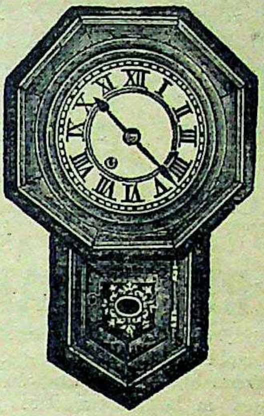

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I am glad to say that the predictions are fairly very accurate and I have gained some belief in Astrology through this.

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१४—हिन्दी-महा-भारत द्वितीय खण्ड ... ॥)
१५—सँक्षिप्त कल्कि पुराण ... ।)
१६—भारतीय-उपाख्यान-माला प्रथम खण्ड ॥)
१७—भारतीय-उपाख्यान-माला द्वितीयखण्ड ॥)
१८—सरल पत्र बोध ।)

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THE UNTOUCHABLE CLASSES OF AN INDIAN CITY: THE ECONOMIC POSITION.

By Dr. Harold H. Mann.

I.

IN the organisation of society among the Hindu population of India, there is no feature which is perhaps more interesting than the existence of a large proportion of the people contact with whom means ceremonial impurity to the other Hindus, and who, yet, remain now as they have done for many generations a necessary part of the scheme of society. The existence of such a class is not of course unique to India, but its origin elsewhere can generally be traced with fair clearness, and its continuance is a matter of comparatively short duration. In the present instance, however, its origin is absolutely unknown and the theories which have been put forward by various observers obstinately refuse to fill all the facts,—while it has remained a feature of Indian society for many generations, so much so that its abolition would mean a social reconstruction of the remaining people of an exceedingly fundamental character.

It is not my intention, however, to discuss the whole question of the low untouchable castes of India. For that I have no special qualifications, and without these it would be only unprofitable and possibly misleading. Suffice it to say, before I turn to the subject of my to-day's paper, that little beyond superficial observation seems to have been made and published about more than a very small proportion of the classes to which I refer. It is even impossible to know from the census figures exactly the number of the untouchable castes, because the precise degree of untouchableness is unknown. Some, among whom is my friend Mr. V. R. Shinde of Bombay, who has made a very special study of the question, place their numbers at one-sixth of the total Hindu population, the largest proportion, by far, being in Madras and Southern India generally. I myself think that the number is much less than this, but, at any rate, they form a far larger proportion of the population than is generally conceived.

My own inquiries relate to the Deccan only, and chiefly to Poona city, and it is about the untouchable classes of the latter that I wish more particularly to speak to-day. But inasmuch as the castes which may be considered 'untouchable' are the same in Poona and the rest of Maharashtra, and inasmuch as Poona city is, like most Indian cities, little more than an overgrown village and maintains its village organisation in many respects, it will be wise first to give a more general idea of the classes with which I wish to deal as they occur in the Deccan villages.

The castes recognised as untouchable on the Deccan are five in number. These are not allowed to live in the village itself, but have special '*wadas*' or quarters outside the village proper. If there is a wall, as there often is, then they live outside the wall. Of these castes, representatives of two are found in almost every village, and have regular functions in the village organisation, the other three may or may not exist according to the special circumstances of the particular place. These five castes, placed in the order of respect, are as follows, to give them their Marathi names :—

(1) Chambhars or leather-workers.
(2) Dhors or tanners.
(3) Mahars.
(4) Mangs.
(5) Bhangis or scavengers.

Three of these are essentially trade castes, and remain as such, the trades with which they are connected being considered as impure. These are the leather-workers, the tanners and the scavengers. The two former only occur where their trades are centred; the last is not required under ordinary village conditions. But the other two groups—the Mahars and the Mangs—are much larger and have a status in practically every village.

The caste of Mahars is by far the largest. Its members, though impure, have definite duties in the villages. They are always the village messengers, the village guides to strangers, often the village watchmen. They erect the tents of strangers,—and they also have the duty of removing and the right to dispose of dead cattle and other animals. For these duties, which they perform without special remuneration, they have land in the village area which belongs to the various families belonging to the caste and the village. This '*watan*' land remains with the member of the families wherever they may be; so long as some member of the family is there to perform the duties in his turn, so long the right is maintained. The fact of being a '*watandar*' Mahar, that is to say a Mahar, whose family has landed rights and duties in a village, is a source of pride, and ties a man and his family to his original village by a very firm tie. He may sell his '*watan*' right, but his status among his fellow castemen is much lowered by this, and he becomes homeless and landless, looked down upon wherever he goes.

In the villages many Mahars take up ordinary labouring work, or various trades in addition to doing their duties and labouring on their land,—but so far as villages are concerned, by far the greatest number remain in their old condition depending on the produce of their *watan* land, doing their village duties, labouring for local cultivators during the busy seasons, varied in some cases by a few months in a town at such work as can there be obtained. Education is almost unknown.

The other caste which is commonly found in every village in the Deccan is that of the *Mangs*. Their position and status is much more difficult to define. They are not attached to a village in the same way as a Mahar. As a class they have no land, and they have no stated duties. And yet there are some attached to almost every village. "The Mang has two chief occupations,—he is a rope maker and he is a musician. In return for services rendered to the cultivating castes he receives from them what is called *baluti*, that is to say, a small portion of the harvest of each field gleaned. It is the duty of the Mangs on their part to supply on demand traces for the cultivator's plough and bullock cart, cords for binding the sheaves and for lowering the bucket into the well, slings for driving the birds from the corn, a whip for his team, a muzzle for his bullock's mouth. These ropes and cords are spun from the fibre of the *asave* plant. This is the Mang's secular occupation. As a musician, he is brought into relation with the religious worship of the village. In some parts it is his duty to beat the drum daily before the chief village temple; everywhere his services are required in connection with marriage ceremonies."*

Such is the condition of the two chief castes as found in the villages of the Deccan: of the others, we may speak simply as we have met them in Poona city.

Poona, the city in which the studies of which a slight sketch is recorded in the present paper, have been made, is, as all know, the capital of the Bombay-Deccan in British India. The chief city of the Peshwas during all the palmy period of the Maratha empire, it was captured by the British in 1818, and its fall practically meant the disappearance of the independent Maratha power. Though it owes its importance partly to its position as a natural trade centre, yet would only have risen to importance very slowly, if the Peshwas had not made it their capital. It was a court city from the beginning, and it has not forgotten the fact to this day. In our own time, Poona, as a whole, has increased but slowly. Its most rapid increase was between 1881, and 1891, but the ravages of famine and especially of plague in the years following 1896 have given it a set back from which it has not even yet fully recovered. Its population since 1872 has been as follows:—

1872	118,886
1881	129,751
1891	161,390
1901	153.320
1911 (provisional)	158,000

This population is that of three separate sections, however. Poona, in fact now consists of the "City" the old capital of the Peshwas, the 'cantonment', a purely British development, originally laid out as a camp, though now containing much other population but which is still entirely under military control; and the 'Suburban Area' with a municipality of its own, but which is really an outgrowth under modern conditions of the old city.

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* Rev. N. Machicol.—The *Times of India*, April 22nd, 1910.

The relative population of these portions is indicated by the following figures for the 1901 census. Those for 1911 are not yet available.

Poona City	111,381
Poona Cantonment	32,777
Poona Suburban Area	9,162

The present paper deals entirely with the first of these three sections. It forms a unit in itself. Its conditions are fairly stable and representative. It was as large as I felt myself able to study. On the other hand, cantonment conditions are so special as to represent nothing but themselves, and the suburban area consists of real suburbs without unity and practically without organisation. Hence, I have entirely limited my view to Poona city in all that follows.

Before turning to my special subject, a few more figures would not perhaps be out of place, in order to try and give an exact idea of the city with which we have to deal. Of the total population (I speak from the census of 1901, but the figures are substantially accurate) of 111,381 persons, 98,431 are Hindus, including Jains, and including also the untouchable classes. There are 11,332 Mahomedans, and the balance includes 952 Christians, 483 Jews, and 168 Parsis. The number of males is slightly in excess of that of females, but the excess only amounts to 1,800.

The city itself lies in a somewhat crowded area on the banks of the Mutha river. It is not attractive to a visitor, being like most other old cities rather a mass of narrow streets, though these have been much improved in recent years. It is unattractive because the banks of the houses usually face the public thoroughfares, gardens lying beyond the houses. If a bird's eye-view of the city is obtained, it looks like a forest of trees, so numerous are the gardens on an area which to a visitor at first sight seems like a mass of narrow and crooked lanes.

In such a city there are, as far as I can make out, for the published census figures do not help us, about seven to eight thousand members of the classes which are considered untouchable. They live segregated from the rest and, being segregated, are largely unknown to the general public. As an illustration of this I will quote a description of them from the Bombay Gazetteer (1881), the standard and usually very reliable authority for almost every corner of the Bombay Presidency. It devotes a dozen lines to the untouchable castes of Poona city, and they read as follows :—

> "The depressed classes include Chambhars, Dhors, Mangs, and Mahars. They live in dirty huts outside of the town. They are idle, dishonest, given to drinking, thieving, and telling lies. Both men and women are of loose morals, and husbands and wives are changed at will. Of Mahars some are in the native army, some are domestic servants to Europeans, some are day labourers, and some are sweepers. Labourers and scavengers begging for remains of dishes served at dinner and for a morsel of food will remain crying at doors for hours together. Chambhars make shoes, Dhors tan hides, and Mangs make ropes and brooms. They live in abject poverty and have scarcely any bedding beyond a blanket. They go almost naked and have no metal pots in their houses. Their women work as day labourers and do house work. They cannot read and write and seldom send their boys to the schools which Government have opened for them."

At least half of this description is undoubtedly incorrect now, and libellous on what is certainly a lowly and despised section of the population, but not one worthy of these remarks. Thus, they do *not*, in large proportion, live in dirty huts outside the town—some do, but these are only a portion. They are as a class *not* idle, *not* dishonest, *not* more given to drinking than some other classes and *not* specially thieves. They are *not* as a class of loose morals, but how this charge comes to be made can be explained comparatively easily. They are *not* in the abject poverty described : and so on. Some things may have changed since 1881, but much of this description was never applicable.

My own studies form the commencement of an inquiry, suggested to me by Prof. Geddes some time ago, into the social conditions of an Indian city. Of these little is on record, and it seemed at once to me that a good commencement could be made in connection with the untouchable classes. The method of work adopted was for myself or my workers to proceed from house to house, make friends with the people, and get them to give particulars with regard to their households, their occupations, their sources of income, where they came from, and the like. As workers and assistants in my own personal investigations, I have had the exceeding good fortune to be able to employ none but member of the untouchable castes themselves, and have so obtained information which is probably more reliable than I could otherwise have got. By this means I have obtained more or less complete data, within the scope I laid down for myself, for 1,400 households, or probably at least between eighty and ninety per cent. of the total. I want it to be understood from the beginning that the object at the back of my mind was essentially economic,—a desire to ascertain the present economic condition of well-defined groups of people living under city conditions in British India. My full figures are not as yet in form for publication, and I can only at present submit a sketch of some of my principal results, and indicate in some way the evidence on which they are based.

The largest of the five castes with which I intend at present to deal, is that of the Mahars. These, number probably between two thousand and two thousand five hundred, in Poona city : my figures refer to 2,066 persons. They may be divided into two classes. The first of these are the *watandar* Mahars of Poona, the descendants of those who were formerly attached to the three villages out of which Poona has grown. They have their land and *wadas :* though they are segregated yet the land is theirs, the houses, more or less well built, are their own, and this is reflected on their habits and conditions in other ways. In contrast with these, the natural inhabitants of the place, are the large crowds of people who have been attracted to Poona for work and who live under much more squalid and unsatisfactory conditions.

The household arrangements for the latter are very peculiar. The owner of the land on which they have settled does, as a rule, nothing for them except put a latrine in the field. Beyond this the tenant builds his hut, and it remains his. He pays a ground rent of say eight annas per month for the space, but the hut is passed on from tenant to tenant. Such a hut is generally made of mud, and roofed with corrugated iron or old kerosine oil tins, and it is generally about twelve or thirteen feet by six or eight feet over all, and is only sometimes built on plinth a few inches high. Inside it is usually divided into two small rooms by a partition which goes partially across the room, made also of mud, and sometimes there is a space in the roof used for storage or for sleeping. There is often a very small verandah, included in the above measurements, on which sometimes a goat is kept.

At least three quarters of the Mahars in Poona city are of this class, drawn to the city by the chance of work, going backward and forward to their villages constantly, and being in every sense strangers and pilgrims.

Including both the classes I have named, the population of 2,066, with which I am dealing, was contained in 555 families. In this number no less than 942 people (45·6 per cent. of the Mahar population) were earning money in one way or another. Of these, 574 were men, 297 were women, and 71 were children. The terms men, women, and children are difficult to define, and too much stress must not be laid on the figures for each of these classes. My aim was to include a boy as such until he was about 18 years old, and a girl as such until she went to live with her husband at the age of 15 or 16, but the figures must not be too much relied on in this direction.

They are employed as follows :—

	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
Poona City Municipality (as street sweepers, coolies, &c.) ...	53	86	5	144
Factories[°]	44	10	15	69
Railway	134	5	6	145
Domestic servants	91	34	13	148
Coolies	164	137	25	326
Miscellaneous	94	17	9	120

The miscellaneous occupations were very miscellaneous. They include skilled artisans like masons; sellers of firewoods; ward boys in hospitals, and beggars.

[°] There are two important factories in or near Poona. One is a silk and cotton mill near the city : the other the Government ammunition &c , factory at Kirkee, five miles away.

INDIAN WOMEN: A STUDY.—II.

By Mr. R. C. Bonnerjee.

ANOTHER great disadvantage to women in India is the poorness of the education they receive. Their many and varied talents find too small a scope in the *zenana*. When they emerge from it there are few places where they can acquire or develope their accomplishments to any large extent Education of Indian women is a crying need in India and one that deserves the highest support both from the Government and from the Indians themselves. *Probatur et algetit* gets much applause from the so-called broad-minded community and but too little support. It seems strange that men who wear European costume, dine at European clubs and generally adopt European ways of living can rest content with their own gains therefrom and not seek to supply their womenkind with similar advantages. Much of the influence that women exert as it is on men in the home might well be exerted for their good abroad. The presence of women has generally a refining effect and Indian public and social life cannot but benefit if women take a larger part therein. The inevitable result of men not mixing with women other than those of their own house, is that their manners tend to become coarsened, also when they wish to entertain their friends, as in the case of the Greeks, courtesans take a prominent part in such entertainments. There are several ways in which the influence of women can be exerted in public. The career of a nurse, pre-eminently suited for women, is one that could find the utmost employment in Indian towns. Once it has been established that it is not disgraceful for a woman to be seen in public, much can be done. Women as doctors have some vogue in the larger towns. There seems no reason why their sphere of usefulness should not be extended. As teachers there is ample scope for their employment, and as organisers of and workers for charities, for the educating of the illiterate, for the tending of the sick or the feeding of the poor, their services would be an estimable boon to the country. The freer life of the Indian woman would do much to destroy the iniquities of the caste system, and women who have learned something of the needs of their country are better able to teach their sons how to prepare themselves for their life's work. If it be urged that eastern women are unfit for such occupations, we have only to turn our eyes accoss the bay to Burma, where women mixing on equal terms with men lose none of their refinement nor their ability to be good wives and mothers. Indian ladies of to-day, even the most advanced, mix but litttle in society. This is partly due to a sense of shyness born of long generations behind the *purdah*, and partly to the fact that they have so few opportunities of educating themselves for their new position. English ladies in Calcutta have in the National Indian Association endeavoured to come into touch with Indian ladies, and no praise is too much for the efforts that some have displayed in this connection. It may, however, be questioned if a long series of so-called *purdah* parties does much than acquaint Indian and English ladies. In some instances these parties, as in certain other places where men meet, are regarded by Indians as an opportunity for fawning on English people, a performance which cannot increase the respect of either race for the other, and is due to the rapidly disappearing servility of the Indians on the one hand and the somewhat overweening pretensions of the English in India on the other. Indian women to improve their position must not only be better educated, but must mix more with men. It remains for Indian men so to comport themselves as to make this more and more possible.

Another matter is inextricably bound up with this question—that is to say, the subject of early marriages. Here again while marriage retains its hold as an institution, there is much to be said for such an aspect of it. In the days of joint families, when the head of the family exercised something like a *patria postestas* and when the brides had to live for the rest of their lives in their husband's and mother-in-law's house, it was almost a necessity for the smooth working of the scheme, that they should be brought there young. Much sentimental argument has been directed against an institution which binds two people together for life without giving them a chance of choosing one another, or as it is phrased falling in love, with one another. This is not the place for an argument as to what love is, but it may be questioned whether early marriages are so dangerous as they are made out to be. The bride is brought up to regard her husband as all-in-all—that is the oldest ideal of an Indian woman, and one which has given us the finest types of women in literature—Draupadi, Sita, Sakuntala and many others. This training is sufficient to ensure that the bride respects her husband and when brought into contact with him from earliest youth, unless through the fault of either, affection will spring up. So-called love matches on occasions turn out none too happily, and it may be questioned whether after all the majority of happy marriages are not founded on principles of general convenience. If it be said that under the Hindu system bridegrooms are practically bought by their fathers-in-law, it might with equal truth be pointed out that Western marriages are not exempt from this stain. But the joint family is gradually nearing its end and the question of infant marriages must be regarded in a somewhat different light. As women grow freer, the one-sided ideal of the relations of woman to man is bound to change, and women are bound to demand and obtain a little more share in the shaping of their own destiny. With the separation of families the principle of infant marriage must change also. When women come into contact with the world and see men other than their own immediate relations, they are bound to demand a little share in the choice of a husband. To the man it matters less than to the woman. Under the old system marriages might be to a certain extent of man's life a thing apart, but it has been woman's whole existence. Even with the gradual emancipation of women this state of affairs must last for some time to come, and therefore it seems only fair that a woman should have the option of refusing a man as husband and should be given an opportunity of exercising her choice, as in the days of old. There was an attendant blessing on infant marriages and that was that it was considered a disgrace for a girl to go unmarried. As a result very few Hindu women are unmarried, and much of the difficulties that stand in the way of European progress in this matter are wholly absent in India. It may be suggested that if infant marriages are abandoned, there will be fewer marriages so that more women will go unmarried. Amongst the sections of the Hindu community who allow their women to appear in public, this is not the case. Marriages—except in the case of Indian Christians—are as frequent among them, though celebrated when the couple have arrived at the age of maturity and have exercised some kind of choice.

It may also, not without reason, be hoped that the old ideal that every woman should be married will not altogether be disregarded. It would indeed be a doubtful blessing if the abolition of infant marriages should tend to create a number of unmarried women with no hopes of marriage. This has not been the result in the Brahmo Samaj, and there is no reason to suspect that it will be so if Indian women of every community come away from the *zenana* system. It seems in accordance with the general spirit of progress everywhere that women should gradually attain to more and more freedom. At once the admirers of the old system with a distrust in the progress of the world, say women will lose all their finest characteristics. That argument must have been adduced at every step in the emancipation of women the whole world through. With the reasoning that because an institution has served it will always serve a good purpose, advocates of progress in any cause whatsoever have invariably to contend. There is another argument—if argument it may be called—that women are very happy in the *zenana*, as though mere individual happiness were to count for everything in the life of a nation. Those who disapprove of change point the finger of scorn at certain of their numbers who leaving the *purdah* have acquired what is least desirable in the traits of emancipated women. To make wide generalisations from a few particulars is not an uncommon failing. For those who from one or two failures would deduce a total collapse, pity is more necessary than argument. Because a few Indian ladies choose to drink liqueur and smoke cigarettes—'quite Western' is the phrase for it, it does not follow that every woman who leaves the *purdah* will follow their example. These are platitudes, but it seems that even platitudes must creep into the discussion when such arguments as have been mentioned are solemnly advanced.

There is much prejudice in this matter, and it is largely due to selfishness on the part of Indians themselves. They have a desire that this very strong position with regard to women should not in any way be weakened. They see that the more women are emancipated,—the more will they come to regard themselves as the equals of men. They think that public cares will take away the minds of their womenkind from private duties. This has not proved so in the West, why should it prove so in the East. The argument that a man's public cares need not take away from his private duties is fallacious,—so we are told,—when applied to women. Where the fallacy lies is hard to see. Several instances might be quoted of women who have had much to busy themselves in public and have neglected none of their private duties. The illustrious example of Queen Victoria in itself disproves such carping, and in all spheres of life from the highest to the lowest of the Western world, instances could be multiplied of women who in the midst of toil and care have neglected no jot or little of their private duties. If women were to come forward more in public, then some of the laws that lay such heavy and in some cases cruel disabilities on them would be bound to be removed. And if it be true that women sacrifice something from their private duties, is not the balance made right if there is a corresponding addition to the public good. Is it not the cynic and only he who would necessarily aver that the lifting of the *purdah* will remove from women their modesty, their womanliness or their refinement. There are examples in the West of what women can do in the way of relieving the poor and tending the sick. Are there not many opportunities in India of such a nature. No one suggests that those women who with the pitiless sun glaring into their pitying eyes bring hope and comfort to the homes of poor, lose in any way their modesty or refinement though they have to deal with men and places unfit for their delicate nature or upbringing. Is there not an ever-increasing market for Indian handiwork and will it not tend to the general prosperity if women can share in the production of such work not for one family or house but for the nation at large. India has been toiling and agonising after unity despite the cold criticisms of its officials and the aloofness of its own people. The emancipation of women must inevitably tend to promote unity. It is impossible to imagine that if half a man's life is completely shut off from that of his neighbour, he can ever learn really to feel with him in his sorrow or rejoice with him in his joy. Prejudice is strong against this movement. Even the most enlightened men who do not keep their womenkind in the *zenana*, yet wish to exercise a kind of semi-*purdah* system themselves. And educated men who have no objection to adopting Western habits in so far as they are advantageous to themselves, find no time to consider whether there may not be Western habits which might be advantageous to their women. Even in this enlightened twentieth century, enlightened men are engaged in trying to organise a boycott against marriage with those families who have been wicked enough to remarry their widowed infant daughters. This prejudice can and must be overcome. The tyranny of man over woman in the West is shaking to its very foundations. Prejudice can only be overcome by education, and it is the duty of every Indian who talks big about freedom, to follow out the logical sequence of his own ideas. There can never be true freedom from which one-half of the community can be excluded. The Government can help this movement not by denouncing the wrong, but by doing the right—by assisting in the spread of education amongst women, and by supporting the efforts of those who have the cause at heart. Private people can also do much not by a good humoured patronage, or on the other hand—a more frequent method by a violent declamation against a system which has the sanction of antiquity, but rather by example and encouragement. The cause is indeed a great one. Women if they mix with the public and do not forget the lessons of the *zenana*, will infuse a new spirit and a new sense of honour into Indian public affairs, which may cause the dry bones of the nation to live. There is no reason to suppose that the old ideals which made Indian women the best of wives and the best of mothers, should in any way be dimmed by the pressure of public work or the attractions of social life. There are, of course, many assertions that it will, but very few arguments in support of such assertions. Sheltered from the world women may do much, it is at least reasonable to suppose with the example of the West before us, that mixing with the world they may do more. It is not herein suggested that changes should be sudden or that Indian women should set themselves slavishly to follow the Western example. Far from it. But there has arisen a feeling amongst men and amongst women that much which should and could be given to the public is lavished wastefully in private. Women have been gradually emerging from their exclusion. On the position of women in India, the position of India will, to a certain extent, depend. Whatever political reform may do, there is much to be done by way of social reform. Many sources of India's strength have been employed, but one great source yet remains to be used. If women can without forgetting their old virtues acquire new means of being useful to the public, then the social position of India will be its strength. Men and women working hand in hand each doing their apportioned task, will regenerate the life of the country and will spread amidst a nation squalid in ignorance and misery, the genius of liberty and the spirit of equality. The ideal will provoke a sneer from the cynic and a laugh from the voluptuary. The cynic has been well described as he who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing. The voluptuary's laugh may go unheeded to ring in his own empty head. Certainly there is a fair prospect before India if she can bring her daughters to her aid in the present "without too rudely breaking with the traditions of her past." That this can be done is shown by the gradual emergence of women from behind the *purdah* and the work they are slowly but surely doing. That it must be done is the lesson of all History, if the progress of the world be more than a mere meaningless phrase.

LORD CURZON AND SIR HENRY COTTON.

By "Indophilus."

THE twentieth chapter of Sir Henry Cotton's *Indian and Home Memories* is devoted to a vivid description of the great earthquake which devastated Shillong and the rest of the province of Assam, in June 1897, exactly a year after Sir Henry had assumed charge of the Chief Commissionership. Immediately following is an equally absorbing account of the frontier tribes of Assam, and of the domestic problems which awaited him as administrator. "Assam," he writes, "has been called the cinderella of India: I regret that the province is still in the position of the poor girl in her slovenly clothes, waiting for the visit of the Fairy Prince." He was fain to hope that that Prince had at last appeared in the person of Lord Curzon, who visited the province, in March 1900; but that hope was dispelled.

It was not Sir Henry's fault that the great earthquake crippled his resources, or that the many schemes of improvement which he launched were not suffered to work smoothly. Had he had his way, Assam would be to-day studded with a network of feeder tramways, and an important step forward would have been taken in the matter of colonizing the millions of acres of culturable land which remain untilled for want of capital and labour. In other directions, however, his beneficent energy was allowed to exert itself. The Cotton College at Gauhati and the Berry-White Medical School at Dibrugarh, attest his zeal in the cause of education: and the startling decrease of the mortality among the prison population from 59 to 22 per mille, in the course of six years, speaks convincingly of his humane efforts to improve the jail administration of the province.

Nor did Sir Henry forget the interests of the great planting community. They were among his staunchest admirers, and their organ, the *Englishman*, resounded with his praises until, in the discharge of his duty, he felt it incumbent upon him to point out that the abnormal system under which their labour was recruited harboured many abuses which reflected credit neither on the employer nor upon the Government which was charged with the work of supervision. Sir Henry Cotton, in the course of an intensely interesting chapter on the controversy, makes it quite clear that the investigation which brought him into collision with the tea-industry, was not of his seeking. The proposal to raise the coolies' statutory wage emanated from the Government of Bengal, and was referred to the Chief Commissioner for enquiry and report. The result was the Assam Labour and Emigration Bill, which came up for the consideration of the Viceroy's Legislative Council in the cold weather of 1900.

Mr. Lovat Fraser, in his recently published panegyric of Lord Curzon's viceroyalty, leaves without mention the whole of this and the sister controversy which followed it. He is no doubt wise from his point of view. Had he told the story as it is told by Sir Herny Cotton, with the help of Lord Curzon's own official utterances, the following sentences would hardly have found a place on page 493 of Mr. Fraser's *India Under Curzon and After*:—

> The public were never left in the slightest doubt about Lord Curzon's aims. He practised no concealment, never disguised his intentions on any subject, and, while

he appreciated popularity, never made the slightest attempt to seek it. Of all the charges brought against him, from time to time, the one I never heard from any quarter was that of equivocation. Whenever he fought, it was always in the open.

What happened was this. The old law provided for a monthly wage rate of Rs. 5 per man, and Rs. 4 per woman, for the first three years of a labour contract, and Rs. 6 per man and Rs. 5 per woman for the fourth and last year. The Bill originally proposed to alter this rate to Rs. 6 per man and Rs. 5 per woman throughout the period of the contract. It is difficult to imagine a milder or more moderate proposal: but the air was rent with the protestations of those who contemplated the interests of the industry exclusively from the capitalist's point of view. It was represented that the industry would be seriouly crippled if the statutory rate of wage was raised. Even the Government of Bengal, as represented by Mr. Bolton, forgot that it was the father of the idea, and joined in shouting with the more vocal crowd. Sir Charles Rivaz, the Home Member in charge of the Bill, and Sir Thomas Raleigh, who by virtue of his office of Law Member, presided over the meetings in select committee, were the last men in the world who would venture, if they could help it, to incur personal unpopularity in the Anglo-Indian press, or with the powerful interests affected or even with the tea-planters. In spite of Sir Henry Cotton's strenuous protest, a compromise was effected in select committee which graduated the increase of rate, by annual increments, which only reached the full rate of Rs. 6 and Rs. 5 in the last year. The capitalist party were not, however, satisfied, and Lord Curzon, who, according to Mr. Lovat Fraser, "never made the slightest attempt to seek popularity" surrendered completely to its demands by announcing in Council that he would "owing to the depression of the market for tea" acquiesce in a postponement of the enhancement in the rate for two years. Sir Henry Cotton, who was thus left to fight the battle of the coolies single-handed, writes that he "had hoped for better things from Lord Curzon, and was bitterly disgusted at his timid attitude." He was soon to find himself in a position to test still further the accuracy of Mr. Lovat Fraser's judgment of the ex-Viceroy's character. There remained the vital question of the relations between employers and labourers, and of the administration of justice in cases between planters and coolies.

> I regret (writes Sir Henry) that this is a matter on which I am compelled to make the admission that I did not take the initiative myself I knew what a storm of anger and invective it would arouse. But Lord Curzon had been more than six months at the head of affairs when he wrote me an official letter, in 1899, inviting my attention to the many cases of collision between managers and coolies which had occurred on tea gardens. It was observed that these cases seemed to indicate that there was something seriously wrong, and it was enquired whether in my opinion they were due to the class of coolies employed or to the class of managers or to any other determinable cause, and whether any remedial measures could be suggested. I confess that I replied in the apologetic vein which had become the established practice in the province and contended myself with quoting and endorsing the opinion of my predecessors, and especially of Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick that 'there must be a certain amount of harshness and oppression at times, possibly even of downright cruelty, on the one side, and of turbulence, conspiracies, and maliciously concocted charges on the other. This, unfortunately, is human nature, as displayed among all classes of men, and happily we have criminal courts strong enough to deal with it. But, speaking generally, the relations between employers and labourers

> seem to be fairly good.' It is to Lord Curzon's credit that an evasive answer of this kind did not at that time commend itself to him. He directed that a special report should be submitted to him of every case of collision between employers and coolies, and for a long period there was a continual shower of letters from him, official and private, commenting on cases and condemning the bias of magistrates. On one occasion I received a warning and very properly, I think, against a natural tendency to suspect and screen my subordinates when I was afraid that their conduct was likely to bring them into trouble.

Sir Henry quotes a number of extracts from one of these official letters, dated August 23, 1901, and written through Sir John Hewett, then Secretary in the Home Department, which deals in a most remarkable manner with three reports submitted on specific cases. These should be studied as they stand, if it is desired to appreciate fully the extraordinary equivocation of which Lord Curzon was guilty when very shortly afterwards Sir Henry Cotton published in his report for 1900 a summary of cases of collision between planters and coolies and used almost identical language The publication of this report opened all the available floodgates of abuse in the Anglo-Indian press. Sir Henry was charged with malignity, inveracity, and dishonesty, his motives were impugned in the most shameful manner, and the *Englishman* clamoured for his dismissal from the public service. Lord Curzon never uttered a word in defence of the subordinate who was carrying out his express instructions. On the contrary, in a published letter to the Indian Tea Association, on February 5, 1902, he saved his one skin and deliberately flung Sir Henry to the wolves.

> In regard to the treatment of coolies, he was, says Sir Henry, 'content to accept the opinions which have in the past been held to justify a conclusion favourable to the employers.' He was 'further of opinion that in dealing with their coolies and with the cases of criminal violence which have come before the courts, the Chief Commissioner's remarks have the effect of implying a wider condemnation than is deserved.' The words of Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick and others of my predecessors whom I had quoted in 1899 were reproduced with approval, and Lord Curzon went so far as to say: 'The Government of India are reluctant to believe that the Hon. Mr. Cotton can be correct in his rejection of the views expressed by an unbroken series of his predecessors and endorsed by himself.'

It is impossible to imagine a completer *volte face*. We invite those who have travelled thus far and turn back once more to the page on which Mr. Lovat-Fraser's encomium on Lord Curzon is reproduced. There is no need to go as far as the *National Review*, which lately had to say of Earl Curzon of Kedleston, that he was 'an archcuttler, whose flamboyant oratory becomes a weariness of the flesh," and "who is presumably destitue of all sense of honour." Such criticism may be left with advantage to the members of the ex-Viceroy's own party in the State. But Mr. Fraser has no excuse for slurring over this Assam episode if, as he asserts in his preface, he has "endeavoured to be impartial" and "knows" he has been "sincere."

What was the reason for Lord Curzon's conduct if credence be given to Mr. Frazer's confident assertion that "of all the charges brought against him from time to time, the one I never heard from any quarter was that of equivocation." Too much need not be made of the circumstance that just at this very time the question of a successor to Sir John Woodburn was suffered deliberately (as it appeared) to remain in abeyance until the rules of the service had compelled Sir

Henry Cotton to send in his papers, in spite of the prolonged illness which rendered that Lieutenant-Governor incapable for several months of discharging his heavy and responsible duties. But the fact remains; and it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Lord Curzon took advantage of the opportunity offered to him of making Sir Henry Cotton's position impossible. He had already served him with an intimation that the sooner he vacated his appointment the more convenient it would be for the Government of India. Sir Henry was well known to be adverse to a proposal for the partition of Bengal. His successor in Assam was found in Sir Bampflyde Fuller who had not such scruples, and under whose signature Lord Curzon's repudiation of his own Assam policy was issued. The man who was sent to Calcutta to occupy the office, which it was the cordial wish of the whole people of Bengal Sir Henry should occupy, was Sir Andew Fraser, a perfect stranger to the province, whose first discovery naturally was that the burden of its administration was too heavy for a single pair of shoulders. One is reminded of the cynical declaration made by Sir John Gorst during the Manipur debate in the House of Commons, when he said that the Government of India had always hated and discouraged independent and original talent and always loved and promoted docile and unpretending mediocrity. This was a policy, he said, they had inherited from Tarquinious Superbus. " Although in these days they did not cut off the heads of the tall poppies, they took other and more merciful means of removing any person of dangerous political pre-eminence to a harmless condition."

To the successful man of affairs of a certain school the doctrine of the subordination of politics to morals may seem outworn : but intelligent opinion in India, as elsewhere, retains its own method of appraising the merits of public men. It simply swept Sir Henry by a wave of popular enthusiasm, and he left India amid demonstrations of affection and appreciation which only Lord Ripon had been able to equal.

REASONS FOR A NEW TRANSLATION OF SAKUNTALA.

By (the late) Mr. Harinath De.

A NEW translation of Sakuntala, when there are so many already in existence, calls for an explanation and the explanation is a very simple one. Sakuntala is a lyrical drama, strongly resembling in tone and character Tasso's Aminta or Guarini's Postor Fido—a fact which none of my predecessors in the field seem to have taken into consideration. Had they done so, they would have translated Kalidasa's dramatic masterpiece not in prose nor in blank verse nor again in blank verse mixed with prose, but in rhymed verse which alone is the adequate vehicle for representing romantic poetry in English. Again there is no satisfactory translation of Sakuntala in English. Sir William Jones's version has long been out of date; that of the late Sir Monier Williams is full of blunders and gives no better idea of the original than Mickle's Lusiad gives of Camoens's epic. In the preface to the revised edition of his version of Sakuntala, published in Sir John Lubbock's "Best Hundred Books of the World" the late Boden Professor of Sanskrit writes "that he can honestly say that he did his best to make his representation of Kalidasa's immortal work as true and trustworthy as possible." But, unfortunately, he overrated the merits of his own performance. I shall cite a few instances to corroborate my statement. In the Prologue to the drama there occurs a beautiful song describing the delights of the summer season, which may be literally translated as follows:—

"At present are days in which bathing in streams is delightful, in which the forest breezes are fragrant on account of their contact with *patala* flowers, in which sleep is easily brought on in the shade and the close of which is charming."

Or as Dr. Fritze has it:—

"Jetzt sind die Tage, da ein Bad erquickt,
Da Winde aus dem Walde lieblich duften,
Wenn dort Bignonienblüthen sie berührten,
Jetzt wird der Schlaf in Schatten leichtgefunden,
Und wonnevoll sind jetzt die Abendstunden."

Sir Monier Williams renders:—

"*Unceasing are the charms of halcyon days,*
When the cool bath exhilarates the frame,
When sylvan gales are laden with the scent
Of fragrant Patalas; when soothing sleep
Creeps softly on beneath the deepening shade
And when, at last, the *dulcet calm* of eve
Entrancing steals o'er every yielding sense."

Take again another passage in which the Hermit remonstrates with the King for the latter's trying to discharge a shaft on the body of a tender fawn :—

"Let not, let not, indeed, that arrow be discharged on the tender body of a fawn, like fire showered on a heap of flowers. How great is the difference between the exceedingly sensitive life of an innocent fawn and your feathered steel-head arrows? Therefore be pleased to put back your well-aimed arrow. Those arms are meant for protecting sufferers and not for tormenting the innocent."

These lines are exquisitely rendered by Hirzel, who prefers the reading *tulâ-râcau* ('a heap of cotton'), to the ordinary *pushpa-râcau* ('a heap of flowers') :—

"O wie doch, o wie?
Der Pfeil da für sie?

Er würd'ein Feü'r in Wallenballen,
Auf zarten Hindinn-Leib ja fallen!

Der Hindinn Leben
Erzittert so sehr;
Dein spitzer Pfeil da
Verwundet so schwer!

O, so leg das Geschoss,
In den Köcher in Eil!

Ihr habt ja zum Schutze des Arment bloss,
Den Guten zu schädigen nicht, den Pfeil.'

Sir Monier Williams' rendering runs as follows :—

"Now heaven forbid this barbéd shaft descend
Upon the fragile body of a fawn,
Like fire upon a heap of tender flowers,
Can thy steel-head bolts no meeter quarry find
Than *the warm life-blood of a* harmless deer?
Restore, great Prince, thy weapon to its quiver.
More it becomes thy arms to shield the weak,
Than to bring anguish on the innocent."

Lastly, let us take the famous passage about the bee (Act I) that flew at Sakuntala's face. Dushyanta apostrophises the bee in lines in which the following is a literal rendering :—

"In whichever direction the bee turns towards the maiden, her rolling eye is darted in that direction. Bending her brows through fear, she is already learning coquettish movements of the eye, even though as yet she is uninfluenced by love. And thou, O bee, touchest repeatedly her quivering eye, whose outer corner moves playfully. Going close to her ear, thou art softly humming as if whispering a secret of love. Thou art drinking her lip that contains all the treasures of delight while she waves her hand. We, on the other hand, O bee, in our enquiry into the truth of the maiden's origin are baffled, whereas thou indeed art lucky."

Hirzel happily renders it :—

" Wohin, immer das Bienchen sich bewegt
Von da, von da flieget die Lieblich-äug'ge weg :
Sie lernt indem jetzt sie die Brauen bloss aus Furcht
Zusammenzieht, fern auch von Angst das Augenspiels.
O die du die Augen mit zitternden Winkeln
Ihr streifest so lose,
In's Ohr ihr zu flustern ein Liebesgeheimniss'
In süssem Gekose ;
Und währand da jene versucht mit dem Händchen
Dir. immer zu wehren,
O die du ja dennoch die Lippen ihr trinkest,
Das höchste Begehren !
Ach, immer im Suchen nach Wahrheit versunken
Wo fänden wir Ruh ?
Du aber, O Honigerzeugerin, dorten
Wie selig bist du !"

Sir Monier Williams renders :—

" Where'er the bee his eager onset plies
Now here, now there, she darts her kindling eyes,
What love hath yet to teach, fear teaches now,
The furtive glances and the frowning brow.
Ah happy bee ! how boldly dost thou try
To steal the lustre from her sparkling eye ;
And in thy circling movements hover near,
To murmur tender secrets in her ear ;
Or, as she *coyly* waves her hand, to sip,
Voluptuous nectar from her lower lip !
While rising doubts may heart's fond hopes destroy,
Thou dost the fulness of her charms enjoy."

Numerous other examples can be cited to show that Sir Monier Williams has not been fortunate in his attempt to present Sakuntala in an occidental garb. The best translation of Sakuntala in any European language is that by Professor Dr. Ludwig Fritze of Köpenick. I have followed Professor Fritze's example in taking Professor Pischel's edition of the Bengali recension of the drama as my text. Occasionally, I have ventured to correct Professor Pischel's text. I agree with Professor Pischel in regarding the Bengali recension as the original form of the text of Sakuntala.

I have differed from the learned German translator whose name I have just now mentioned in my interpretation of the following passages :—(1) Act I. (Ed. Pischel, p. 23.) Dushyanta rises up as if desirous of holding Sakuntala back and then restrains himself saying :—" Aho ceshtâ-pratirûpikâ kâmino manovritti." Professor Fritze renders :—

> " Ach, wie doch bei Liebenden
> Das Denken steht in Einklang mit des Körpers
> Bewegungen."

Sir Monier Williams entirely misses the point and renders this as :—

> " Ah ! a lover's feelings betray
> Themselves by his gestures."

But the real and correct meaning and one that suits the context is :—

> "The thoughts of a lover correspond to what he wishes to do."

Or in the words of Lope de Vega :—

> " Muchas veces piensa amor
> Que hace lo que imagina."

I have rendered it accordingly :—

> " How the mere thought comes to be
> A moment's rapt reality
> In a lover love-oppressed ! "

Professor Pischal regards this explanation to be the correct one.

(2) Act II. (Ed. Pischel p., 38.) :—The beautiful stanzas in which Dushyanta describes Sakuntala's beauty by similes, contain the following expressions :—" Anâmuktam ratnam......akha*nd*am punya*n*âm phalam." Sir Monier Williams renders them :—

> " A gem of priceless water just released
> Pure and unblemished from its glittering bed.
> Or may the maiden be compared.........to the mellowed fruit
> Of virtuous actions in some former birth
> Now brought to full perfection ?"

Professor Fritze's translation runs :—

> " Die Perle, die nock nich zum Schmuck gedient...
> Die ganze, volle Frucht der guten Werke."

The Sanskrit is rather ambiguous but the context settles the meaning. Sakuntala is compared to 'a gem as yet unworn' and to 'a fruit *reserved* for pious deeds.' In other words, union with the peerless maiden is regarded as the reward of pious deeds performed in an anterior birth by the man who is destined to win her. Sir Monier Williams is quite mistaken in interpreting the expression as referring to the beauty of Sakuntala, which he supposes the poet to regard as the fruit of the pious deeds done by the maiden in her former birth. I translate the lines in question in the following manner :—

> " This fair gem
> That none yet wore as ornament.
> This reservéd fruit
> For pious deeds in past lives done."

The idea is not uncommon in Indian literature. A lover's song, in the Dighá Nikáya, which is quite as old as the fourth century B. C., contains the very same idea :—

> " Yam me atthi katam punnam asmim puthuvi-mandale
> Tam me sabbanga-kalyānī tayā saddhim vipaccatam."
> " Yes, whatever deeds of virtue in this world were done by me,
> All their fruits, supremely blest one, may I reap with only thee."

THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA.

By Rev. Charles Bone.

THE revolution which is being wrought out in China to-day seriously threatens to overthrow the present dynasty and generously promises to enthrone a republic in its stead. What success will crown the efforts of its leaders cannot be yet tabulated, seeing that up to the present no serious encounter has occurred between the insurgents and the Imperialist troops. The general opinion, almost amounting to a belief, is that the former will be the victors, though this depends upon the military skill of the leaders, as yet unproved, and the enthusiasm of their followers. On the other hand, and most of all, perhaps, upon the devotion and reliability of the Imperialist troops, whom the Government are sending to quell the tumult and terrorize the dissatisfied. While, however, we cannot draw aside the veil that hides the feature, it may be possible to follow some of the cross currents which have led to this confusion, and describe the causes of the present overwhelming catastrophe. The causes that have changed what was a submissive acquiescence in the decisions of the Son of Heaven into utter contempt and bitter hatred are many: they can only be stated here in the barest outline.

First, there was the unthinkable humiliation of an unconscionable haughtiness, wherein he whom the people looked up to as Heaven's vice-regent, has been compelled once and again to flee for his life before the bayonets of the despised barbarian, and afterward grovel in the dust for rehabilitation and reinstallation. The people looked with wonder and amazement on such a "providence." He had been accustomed to command; now he is compelled to obey. It has been his prerogative to behead; now he must behead at the nod of others. The crown and gaudy decorations have been torn from the idol, and, behold! it is wood. The cherished superstition of the people has been rent, not pricked, and no earthly hand can repair the harm.

The repeated dismemberment of parts of the empire can neither be forgotten nor forgiven. To Great Britain, France, Germany and Japan, limbs of the empire have been relinquished, which were torn from the body by ruthless hands, so that to the Chinese to-day their country is both maimed and halt. China has been accustomed to accretions, not curtailments, to snatch from, not to confer on others. These repeated wrenchings have caused unutterable pain, which time has not assuaged nor peace healed.

There is a widespread suspicion that the Manchu rulers are yet as impotent as ever and quite as incompetent as before even to defend what remains. Hence, while there is pent-up rage and banked fires, because of the past, there is yet a throbbing pain and lurking suspicion in regard to the future. The people fear further complications with foreign governments, through the ignorance or incapability of their rulers at Peking, and dread that any day the country may be involved in another imbroglio, which will eventuate in the loss of territory and the ignominy of a further humiliation.

The indemnities demanded by the victors could not be paid out of an empty exchequer. Hence, during the years that have passed since the defeat of China at the hands of Japan, yearly indemnities have drained the country of its wealth, which indemnities were heavily increased after the Boxer uprising, until the burden of taxation has become unbearable. Probably, therefore, the most potent factor in the present discontent is resentment at the widespread system of taxation which has been pressed down upon the shouders of the people during the last ten years. As the Chinese put it: "The Manchus are like fishermen throwing out nets in ponds and rivers; like gold-seekers digging for the precious metal." But money has been expended in other ways. Many modern inventions have been introduced into China and the people compelled to pay for them. One instance will illustrate what we mean. In Canton there is a fine wireless installation, attached to some very imposing new offices. This has to be paid for. The people do not understand the utility of such things; moreover, the wealth of the people has not increased in proportion to the increased expenditure on such innovations. Yet money must be had to meet the foreign bills. But most exasperating of all, perhaps, is the conviction that myriads of dollars have been and are scandalously wasted by the Court, or piled up by rapacious officials, to serve their own ends and gratify their own passions.

The influence of the newly established native press must not be overlooked, nor the restlessness of the thousand students who have recently returned from foreign countries. The former has persistently enlightened the reading public in regard to the systems of government obtaining in the West. The Chinese here are told that in the West the people hold the control of the purse, and that they enjoy the liberty of choosing their own representatives, who will do their bidding. The bare grimness of China's system seems revolting in comparison. Further, the many students educated in Germany, France, Great Britain, America, and, most of all, in Japan, have returned to their homes with new ideals and fresh ambitions, which are soon shrivelled into white, weakly leaves under the baneful influence of the shade of China's autocratic unlimited monarchy.

Last of all, the Manchus are an alien race of northern nomads, and this fact is heralded throughout the country with stentorian lungs and bitter hatred. Enough will be said to show that this great revolution is the effect of many causes. The cry of the insurgents, from the heart and from their brain, is: "The people within the four seas have been scattered and peeled; they are rolled over into ditches and watercourses, where they are left to die."

It may not be altogether uninteresting to trace the origin and development of this revolutionary movement during the last twenty-five years. Many abortive attempts have been made, which have failed through lack of preparation and organization on the one hand, and insufficient ammunition on the other.

In 1886 a foolish and crude attempt was made to capture Canton under the leadership of Sun Yat-san. Some barrels, said to contain cement, were landed at the wharf. They were consigned to a Chinese. He, however, was unequal to the task, and his courage failed. Before the barrels could be delivered he had fled, and the consequence was that the barrels were left some time at the Custom House unopened. Meanwhile, this Chinese was connected in some way with the Presbyterian Mission, and word was sent to Dr. Kerr, the esteemed head of the Canton missionary hospital, who, however, replied that as far as he knew no cement was either ordered or expected. The barrels were then opened, and were found to be full of revolvers and cartridges. I have said that the man to whom the barrels were consigned could not be discovered. I accidently met him some years afterward. The episode opened the eyes of the Manchus.

During the confusion that followed the collapse of the Boxer outrage attempts were made to raise the standard of revolt in the Central Provinces. The centre of the storm was in Hunan, and the leader Tong Tsoi-sheung. This man ostensibly espoused the cause of Hang Yau-wei, and publicly advocated a reformed Manchu dynasty; really and at heart he was a revolutionist. The plot was soon discovered by Chang Chihtung, who arrested Tong, and with the smallest possible formality, executed him. The threatened whirlwind became a dead calm.

On one occasion one Tsui Pak-sun entered the ranks of the Imperial Guards in the Kiangsu Province. He was able to do this only in the face of great difficulty and danger. He embraced every occasion to inoculate the troops with whom he associated, and some success attended his efforts. But the affair was too precipitate and was followed by a collapse. In the spring of 1910 there was a very serious rising at Yam Chau. On this occasion there was some severe fighting and the rebels won some considerable successes. They captured Ho Hau, and after a three days' truce, during which some of the Imperialist Soldiers joined the opposite party, the rebels captured one after an-other both Man Ho and Sam Mang. They then determined to secure the railway, which was guarded by Imperialist troops ; these latter fled before the former. But through bad management the movement could not sustain itself.

There was a serious rising in Canton at the beginning of 1910. During the preceding autumn a man named Ngai had conferred with the revolutionists, and they thought that the hour was ripe for an organized attack upon the Manchu dynasty. The attack was made. There were at that time in Canton some regiments who had been drilled on Western models, and these were at feud with the old Manchu garrison. The new troops were induced to take part in the rising. Ngai was a man of energy and was the soul of the movement. On the last night of the old year, before the preparations were completed, there was an open rupture between the old and the new soldiers. Then Ngai knew that all would be discovered. He boldly entered the barracks and called upon the soldiers to follow him, which they did as far as the Wong Ngai temple outside the city. Here they met the Imperialists. In the fight they were mowed down. It could not be otherwise, for it was found that their rifles had been tampered with, so that they were useless. Ngai was early wounded. He was dragged before the Imperialist colonel, who killed him on the spot. More slaughter followed.

There is little space for more. In the third Chinese month of this year there was a determined attempt made to capture the Viceroy's yamen at Canton and assassinate the Manchus. It failed. Further, during the year in Canton, two Tatar generals have been assassinated. The one was shot; the other was assassinated on they day he landed, this week, by a bomb thrown from the roof of a house.

Everybody knows of the outbreak in Szechuen, during the last two months, because the Government has assumed ownership of the railways, and further, must negotiate foreign loans in order to pay for them. Even then the proposal is to pay back the shareholders only three-fifths of their outlay; the other two-fifths is to be paid for in bonds that are redeemable when the railway is flourishing enough to furnish the funds to meet them.

It will be seen from this brief digest that China has been in a ferment during the last quarter of a century, like a volcano ready for activity at any hour.

It may not be amiss here to say a few words about the leader of the present revolution. His name is Li Yuan-hung. He is forty-seven years of age, and is a native of the Hupeh Province. He graduated at the Peiyang Naval College and was appointed artillery officer of the cruiser "Chen-yuan." He was in the famous battle when China's fleet was smashed by Japan and jumped overboard. His life, however, was spared. Afterwards he joined himself to Chang Chih-tung in Hupeh. Chang liked him because he was strong enough to withstand all temptation and influence. We need not feel our way through the mazes of official life during the next few years. Notwithstanding his recognized ability he could not rise to the highest position the army could offer him, because of the jealousy and intrigues of Chang Paio, his superior officer, though the latter was much inferior in general ability and general knowledge. Before the Boxer troubles he had foresight enough to see the value of a competent knowledge of outside politics, so he went to Japan to study. He also took with him twenty colleagues from the Hupeh army. When he returned to Hupeh he urged Chang Chih-tung to send young military students to Japan that they might finish their military education. But with his additional knowledge and experience he was still blocked by his fossilized rival and was never able to reach the height of his ambition, viz., the generalship of a provincial army. Great influence he had, but not *that.* Li's treatment of men has generally been generous and sympathetic; that of Chang Paio harsh and capricious. He was jealous of men of ability. Hence Li has many friends throughout the province, Chang few. I understand also that Li speaks English fluently, for he graduated at a Western college, and also studied in Japan. It is obvious, therefore, that China could furnish no better equipped leader than Li Yuan-hung. He knows both native and foreign life; he has served in both the army and navy; he is thoughtful for others and resourceful in the face of difficulties. The revolutionists cannot be under better guidance, nor can they expect to evolve a better and safer leader.

We have already said that it is difficult to anticipate the future with any certainty, because there has yet been little determined fighting between the insurgents and the Imperialists. Moreover, the temper of the northern army has yet to be tested. Meanwhile the situation seems to be as follows; The three great cities, Wuchang, Hanyang and Hankow, the real heart of China, have been captured and are held by the rebels. There has not been for this result much trouble, though some desultory encounters took place in the streets.

The insurrection, unlike that attempted in Canton some six months ago, broke out among the military. The artillery was the first to hoist the insurgent's flag; the infantry immediately followed. The mutinous troops at once joined hands with the revolutionists, who were ready for the outbreak, and so the work of bloodshed began. All the important buildings of the great capital were soon in the hands of the rebels. When Wuchang was captured, both the Viceroy, Jui Cheng, and the General Chang Piao escaped. The latter was shot at and wounded by Li-Yuan-hung, the revolutionary leader, but managed to escape to the Japanese Concession. The whereabouts of Jui Cheng is at present unknown.

The arsenal at Hangyang was cleverly captured by a ruse. About a hundred of the rebels disguised themselves as Imperialists and clamoured at its gates, announcing themselves to be fugitives from Wuchang.

From this city they professed to have escaped from the rebels. Not suspecting any danger the gates were thrown open and the men entered. They were no sooner within than they revealed their identity and their purpose, and the Imperialists yielded almost without a blow. This gave the rebels a splendid haul. It is reported that therein they secured forty guns, ranging from five to seven centimeters, as well as a number of small mountain guns. They also seized 23,000 rifles and 3,000,000 rounds of cartridges. Hanyang Arsenal had furnished weapons and ammunition for the whole of the Hupeh Province, and, therefore, there was plenty in stock. The seizure was a godsend to the rebels.

There was little or no opposition evidenced by the people of Hankow, because this is the business centre, and when the capital, Wuchang, and the great military centre, Hanyang, had fallen, it could offer no resistance worth the name. So much for the first act of this great drama.

What has been repeatedly foretold has come to pass. It has always been said that when the revolutionary party should come into power, the utmost deference would be shown to foreigners, and the utmost care would be taken to protect their property. This has come to pass. It is true that all foreigners were advised to seek refuge in Hankow, and most of them felt it their duty to obey and follow the instructions given. All the women and children from the three great cities at once took refuge on the foreign concessions, and some of them have already taken passage down the river to Shanghai. On the other hand, some men still remain in Wuchang, where they will be unmolested and will be able to offer some assistance to the wounded and dying. It may be safely affirmed that no harm will come to foreign residents throughout China from either the insurgents or the Imperialists. The former heartily seek the good will of foreign Powers, though these may remain neutral; the latter fear to be involved in any trouble with any other nationality, as their hands will be more than full.

What perhaps may be feared is some local outbreaks of the rabble and hooligan class. It is said that there are 40,000 refugees in Hankow alone, and these are for the most part living on the verge of starvation. No one, therefore, can be surprised if there should be a danger which may burst all bounds, and rush forth to pillage and perhaps bloodshed. Meanwhile the insurgents are extremely severe in their administration of their laws. They behead almost without a trial any one they suspect of looting, and this severity is a salutary influence upon all parties. People are hardly willing to barter their heads for a mirror or some other knick-knack looted from a foreign residence.

The difficulties confronting the Manchus are fourfold. First, the entire population throughout the empire hates them and are ripe for any change. Secondly, the Manchus cannot trust their own troops. Already there has been mutiny in many places, and the foreign drilled army is honeycombed with discontent and is ready to use its weapons against the Manchus and on behalf of a republic. The Manchu bannermen are moribund, if not defunct. Thirdly, there is the financial question. Whatever funds the insurgents may be able to command, it is certain that the Imperialists are badly prepared for a long struggle. They may attempt to borrow money, but that will further embitter the people, and make their task harder. If provincial governments like Canton decide to send no more funds to the capital, the financial crisis will become more acute. The confusion of currency in China is chaotic and appears to be chronic. Both Government and provincial banks have recently been issuing notes, and the people have accepted them. Now, however, the holders of these notes are clamouring for silver, and already several banks have been compelled to close their doors. These stoppages are said to be temporary, but amid all this chaos it is difficult to believe that order can be evolved. Lastly, there is the burning question of the generalship of the Imperialist army. In the last great struggle for the supremacy of China, the ruling house was assisted by some able generals. But even then it is likely that the Tai Pings would have wrested it from them were it not for the assistance of General Gordon. At present all eyes are turned toward Yuan Shi-kai. The one fact above all others is that the Manchu Government wants a general whom the troops will trust and follow, and the one man in China who can wield any influence over the army is the ex-Grand Chancellor. Before Yuan, however, will undertake this arduous task he is bargaining for freedom from all restraint, either military or civil. But the question now arises, Will he be true? The recent treatment, not unmerited, which he has received at the hands of the Throne cannot be forgotten; on the other hand, there are millions, we believe, throughout the empire, who would hail him President of the republic with loud acclamation. He is moving slowly and professing to be removing obstacles out of the way. Perhaps he is considering the pros and the cons of the problem. He who has been a traitor once may yield again when confronted with the temptation and betray the trust reposed in him. Anyway, he appears to be the hope of the Manchus, and you are sure they are hard pressed to place so much power in his hands at this juncture.

Meanwhile, it may safely be affirmed that it is the beginning of the end of Old China. If the insurgents win there will be changes radical, reasonable and salutary; if the Manchus again, though blood-stained, emerge from the conflict and carry the crown with them, we think that it is impossible for the great Powers to allow things to drift on as they have been drifting. Changes, reforms, improvements must be initiated and supported, so that in any case, except for the loss of life and property in the districts actually involved, there must emerge from this chaos something like order, and things will be adjusted so that there will be progress and development.

THE EVOLUTION OF THOUGHT IN ANCIENT GREECE.

By Mr. Ramalingam Pillai, B. A.

THE Greeks in the West and the Hindus in the East are the only two great nations of antiquity that can boast of a highly evolved philosophical literature that has grown independently, clearly, and spontaneously. Other peoples have, of course, endeavoured to throw light on the ultimate basis of knowledge and Being, to inquire into the latent mysteries of Soul, God and Immortality ; but their speculations have not the stamp of independence and individualness. The systems of thought of modern Europe have a vital and organic connection with the thought system of Greece and Rome. Even the Romans had no philosophy of their own ; and did but faintly copy Greek philosophy. The contributions to speculative thought made by China, Persia, Syria and Egypt, in themselves insignificant and fragmentary, can be traced more or less to an Indian source.

Greece is in almost everything the starting point of modern European civilization. Homer is not more the fountain-head of Western poetry than Socrates of Western philosophy. For Art and Science and Law, for the philosophy of thought and of action, nay, even for theology itself, modern Europe is mainly indebted to Greece, and to Rome as the interpreter of Greece. Greek philosophy is the basis of modern European thought ; it was the impulse to all early speculation ; it was the parent of Positive Science. The attempt to give a comprehensive account of the philosophical activity of the Greek nation carried on for well-nigh six long centuries in the short compass of a few limited pages must *ipso facto* be imperfect and unsatisfactory. To begin with, we will allude, if but briefly, to the theory of the Indian origin of Greek philosophy. An interesting controversy amounting to a deal of discussion has been raised by students of ancient philosophy, in regard to the question of the connection, supposed or real, between the Indian and the Greek systems of thought. There are several points common to these systems. But Mr. G. H. Lewes, the author of "A Biographical History of Philosophy," is dogmatic when he asserts that coincidences prove nothing but the similarity of all spontaneous tendencies of thought. Something more is needed to prove direct filiation. Mr. Lowes is, indeed, to a certain extent, unanswerable. But, on the other hand, several European *savants* have held that there was some communication of knowledge between the Hindus and the Greeks to make remarkable coincidences possible. Critics are divided on this point ; they have split themselves into two, or, rather three, factions. One set of them has held that the whole of Greek philosophy, or. at any rate, many of its main and influential doctrines and systems came from India, and as men belonging to this camp may be mentioned Gorres, Röth and Gladisch. The above theory of the origin of Greek philosophy does not find favour with many at the present time. These may be called the men of the second camp and Mr. Lowes is its chief representative. The attitude of the third set of scholars is simply astounding. They would advance a step further and turn the tables. Nieubuhr and men of his lead held that the Hindus had borrowed their philosophy from the Greeks. The limited scope of this paper forbids us to discuss this question at any length. A "safer" and easier solution of the problem has been offered by Professor MaxMuller, in his admirable work, "the Six Systems of Indian Philosophy." He goes on to say :

> "It seems to me that until it can be proved *historically* that the Greeks could freely converse with Indians in Greek or in Sanscrit on metaphysical subjects or *vice versa*, or until technical philosophical terms can be discovered in Sanscrit of Greek, or in Greek of Sanscrit, origin, it will be best to accept facts and to regard both Greek and Indian philosophy as products of the intellectual soil of Greece and of India, and derive from their striking similarities this simple conviction only, that in philosophy also there is a wealth of truth which forms the common heirloom of all mankind, and may be discovered by all nations if they search for it with honesty and perseverance."

Commenting on this passage, with particular reference to the Hindu and the Aristotelian Logic, in a scholarly review of the Professor's "Six Systems of Indian Philosophy," contributed to the *Indian Review* for February, 1900, our distinguished countryman, the great statesman-poet and scholar-patriot, the late lamented Romesh Chunder Dutt, C. I. E., of revered memory, observes as follows :

> "This is a safe way of disposing of the question which will hardly satisfy curious enquirers; it is scarcely possible to deny the indebtedness of the younger to the older nation in a matter in which the coincidence so pointedly suggests one common origin."

This is one of those questions, involving, as it does, points of chronological data the absence of which has been deeply and widely deplored by students of Indian history, which, in the present inadequate and incomplete state of Indian epigraphy, can hardly receive the quietus in the near future ; no final word could now, therefore, be said upon it.

Before proceeding further, let us try to have a clear conception of the term "philosophy." It is impossiblle to give a satisfactory definition of "philosophy." The sense attached to the word has varied from time to time. Philosophy (Greek, philesophia) means "the desire for knowledge." It signifies the love of wisdom. All philosophic endeavours spring from the impulse of the human mind to comprehend itself and the world around it. Every age of the world and every people, the mind of which has attained to any degree of cultivation, have had their different philosophies, *i.e.*, have tried to unravel the problem of their own existence and of the universe around them. An adequate knowledge of the universe is the aim of the highest scientific thought. Each science professes to give the last word that can, for the time, be said, not on the universe as a whole, but on the particular part of it with which it is concerned. If the several sciences give only the final deliverances that can be made for the time being in their respective spheres, philosophy gives a comprehensive conception of the universe. And it is only when the ultimate conclusions of all the sciences have been thus co-ordinated and, if possible, subordinated to higher generalisations, that we can be said to have an adequate conception of the universe as a whole.

We have said that the term "philosophy" has passed through a series of meaning in course of time. We will now see what they are :—

First of all, it meant "Search after truth."

2. A methodical study of the universe.
3. A rational knowledge of the Eternal Being.
4. A practical guide to life, or a direction for the guidance of life.
5. Examination of Reason by Reason.

During the first stage, philosophy devoted its attention to know the *Prima Materia* or the essence of things. In so doing, it was objective and cosmological, as distinguished from subjective and psychological. In trying to have a rational view of God, it usurped the functions of theology ; it began to criticise theology in the light of its new doctrines founded on reason, while theology claimed to have its knowledge of Being on revelation. As a guide to practical life, it set forth in deontology or ethics ideas of conduct by means of the principles of right and wrong and in æsthetics by founding the ideals of beauty. In examining reason by reason, it has been discharging its legitimate duties ; it has before it the conclusions arrived at by individual sciences, and now the function of philosophy is to gather the scattered items of knowledge furnished by the sciences and to systematise them.

A study of Greek philosophy gives us an insight into the earliest speculations about nature and universe and the gradual progress from the rudimentary conceptions to the more refined and highly rational systems that have been evolved from them. The study of the ancient Greek systems must also prove to be of great use to a student of Indian philosophy. A comparative study of the two great systems will be of great value and interest. "In them, we have the same yearning after the one truth, the same faulty speculations, the same gradual disentanglement from incomplete conceptions to perfection and grandeur of ideas. In both we have speculations running on almost parallel lines of thought. Both after a certain stage ceased to expand ; all their innate potentialities have been exhausted." But the Indian thought is still a living, inspiring and ennobling influence. The other is extinct and has with us but an academical interest.

The purpose of philosophy is the pursuit of absolute truth. We may now proceed to consider how the different Greek systems attempted to arrive at the one single principle, the absolute truth or truth, common to all intelligence. The early speculators of Greece never went beyond the confines of the material universe and their philosophy always tended in the direction of the positive and the real. The philosophers of the earliest period or Pre-Socratic period are broadly divided into the Ionic and the Italic schools. Both had to ascertain the nature, the origin, the laws and the destiny of the visible world. While the former dwelt more upon the *material element* itself and the life which manifested itself in its ever changing developments, the latter turned their thoughts more to the *laws* by which the world was governed or the one unchanging substance which they believed underlay its shifting phenomena.

The thinkers who belonged to the Ionic school were naturalists. Their conceptions were entirely physical. Thales is the first of them ; with him began the transition from the mythological to the scientific interpretation of nature. He regarded water as the ultimate reality, *i.e.*, that water was the one original element out of which all things had been produced, because he said that moisture is essential to animal and vegetable life. He held that the Universe was a living creature. By "water," he meant some "subtle or occult form of moisture or fluidity." The importance of the speculation of Thales does not consist in the theory, but rather in the spirit of investigation. He contemplated the Universe from a physical point of view. Still the tendency to generalise, to seek out the principle of unity from which the diversity of nature has evolved, essentially separates the speculation of Thales from the mythological period of Greece. The objections to this theory are obvious. The ultimate reality it set forth, is a mere sensible Universal, and a sensible Universal is not a *necessary* truth It is no truth for all intelligence. And thence the succeeding speculation of Anaximander who came next to Thales in the Ionic school. He held that the infinite or the unlimited was the principle of all things and not any determinate matter, such as water or air or any other sensible element. The advance in thought over Thales is something enormous. Here is found the germ of distinction between matter and form most obscurely expressed. The next is the tendency to bring to light the opposition between the finite and the infinite. We have to account for the finite, and the finite must be the outcome of the infinite. Anaximander's "infinite" is not a perfection. It is still some formless, unlimited matter. The theory of Anaximander was thus a thorough deviation from Thales, and Anaximenes, the third philosopher of the School, effected a compromise. He held that air was the ultimate principle. He selected air because it was less material than the water of Thales and more definite than Anaximander's "infinite." The principle of Anaximenes was still further carried by his pupil Diogenes of Apollonia. He held that air was itself sensible and intelligent and it was because man partook of this that he became a sentient and intelligent being. Indirectly, prominence was thus given to the soul which was living and intelligent as the ultimate principle of the Universe. Thus we find the Ionic School attempting to work out the ultimate principle, the absolute truth, the pursuit of which is the purpose of philosophy. But in the speculations of these thinkers, the universal is not comprehended. It is not water, nor it is formless matter or air. They are "disguised sensibles" and, as such, they cannot be the ultimate reality which philosophy seeks to investigate.

The Italic School is headed by Pythagoras who taught the doctrines of Immortality and the Transmigration of souls and the duty of abstemiousness. The new and startling feature in the Pythagorean philosophy, as opposed to the Ionic systems, was that it found its key of the universe, not in any known substance but in number and proportion. This is an advance on that of Anaximander who also expressed more or less the same thing when he declared that the all or infinite was the ultimate principle of the Universe. Numbers rule the harmonies of music, the proportions of sculpture and architecture and the movements of the heavenly bodies. He identified number with form, substance and quality. By historians it is doubted whether the Pythagorean "One" is not after all a physical something whose nature is indefinable. He believed in one God, eternal, unchangeable, ruling and upholding all things; the soul was punished for past sin by imprisoning it in the body.

While the Pythagoreans strove to explain Nature mathematically and symbolically, the Eleatics in their later developments did the same by their metaphysical abstraction. To Xenophanes, God was the world or the one existence whose many modes of being constituted the universe. The same truth is enshrined in the immortal lines of the English poet, Shelley :

> " The One remains, the many change and pass ;
> Heaven's Light for ever shines, Earth's shadows fly ;
> Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass
> Stains the white radiance of eternity."

This philosopher condemns anthropomorphism and polytheism altogether. The chief representative of this School is Parmenides whose philosophy is antithetical to that of Heraclitus. Parmenides held that it is only by thought we can become conscious of the really existent ; being and thought are the same ; sense can only give rise to uncertain opinion. In this we notice for the first time the beginning of the disputes between Experientialists and Intuitionalists. With this division of the "absolute" and the " relative," we mark also the rise of the doctrine of " innate ideas " He had an idea of the indestructibility of matter ; he supposed all things to proceed from the mixture of two principles, light and darkness, also called fire and earth, or male and female The first born of Gods was Love by whom the union of opposites is brought about. Zeno in common with his master, Parmenides, held that the one through reason is the ultimate ground of existence. He showed the absurd consequences of the ordinary belief in the phenomenal world. The clearly marked opposition between the Ionic and the Eleatic views of nature exerted a powerful influence on the subsequent course of philosophy. Empedocles, Anaxagoras and the Atomists agreed in accepting the Eleatic principle of the immutability of substance, while denying its absolute oneness ; and they explained the Ionic " becoming " as the result of the mixture of a number of unchangeable substances.

The translation from the cosmological, to the psychological, stage of speculation in Greece was heralded by Anaxagoras who was the first among her thinkers to recognise the subjective principle of *nous*, (reason or soul) as something different from the material universe. It was the recognition of this principle that rendered possible in Greece the separation of the philosophical science from general theories about nature He distinguished *nous* or reason and the chaotic confusion of matter. The Anaxagorean system began with external nature, as did the previous Greek systems and only by the merest accident stumbled on a spiritual principle higher than matter. He declared the Infinite was composed of 'Homameria' or elementary seeds of infinite variety. He anticipated somewhat the psychology of Kant when said that the senses perceive phenomena and reason gives us the noumena Democritus, the laughing philosopher, is well-known as the expounder of a new theory of the origin of the material world. This is the atomic theory. The motive power in the atoms is derived through gravitation from chance, not from the efficacy of accumulated merit and demerit called destiny. The atoms according to Democritus, variously heavy and afloat in empty space, impinge on each other Even the soul, he maintained, is made up of atoms, only, the soul atoms are infinitely minute. Thus he makes the source of existence in all its forms, physical and spiritual. He held that sensation did not constitute all knowledge, and that it ought to be guided by reflection. Democritus closes the series of the pre-Socratic dogmatists, men who devoted themselves to the investigation of nature as a whole, believing that the investigation would lead to the discovery of the truth.

Between these and Socrates is interposed the sceptical or sophistical era. This was a natural and necessary stage in the development of Greek thought. Scepticism has now for the first time manifested itself after the two stages of explanation and criticism.

Protagoras, the prince among Sophists, declared his inability to arrive at any conclusion as to the nature or even the very existence of the gods. His doctrine was enunciated in the dictum "man is the measure of all things." By this, he meant that truth was relative, not absolute ; that what each man held to be true was true to him. This was a sort of conciliation—theory naturally springing from the fact of the opposition of philosophical schools. "Each of you are equally right *relatively*, equally wrong absolutely." Socrates also shared the general scepticism and he awakened in the people a consciousness of their ignorance. He developed what is called the Dialectics. He gave an ethical turn to the trend of Greek thought, holding that virtue is wisdom. He held also that the soul is immortal, having in it a divine element. Plato, the pupil of Socrates, though followed the dialectical methods of his master, propounded a new system of philosophy. His method of investigation was subjective. He was an idealist. He was struck with the evanescent phenomena of sense and he admitted a fundamental essence of things in virtue of which things were what they were. This fundamental essence with him was "Ideas." There are ideas corresponding to everything which is capable of being gathered up under any nation. But these ideas are not all of the same rank. There is a regular series or graduated organism of ideas ; and the highest of the ideas is the idea of the good. This is the absolute one of Plato. In his theory of the soul, the exact relation that his eternal ideas bear to soul, is not quite clear. He affirms that the individual soul possesses the same nature and character as the universal soul. The soul itself is indestructible and by its very essence, is destined for a blissful life in the contemplation of the ideal world. But it is its union with the material world that presents its cognition of the divine and the eternal. That the life of sensuous existence is a lower life, that the pure soul is tainted by its association with the corporeal world, and that the consummation of theosophy consists in soul freeing itself from the shackles of sensuous existence are some of the doctrines of Plato. He thus gives a metaphysical turn to the trend of Greek thought ; but this is more or less accidental, for his immediate successor, Aristotle, the great encyclopædic writer who first mapped out with any definiteness the limits of the different philosophical sciences, assigns to it only a secondary place, though he does not ignore metaphysics.

It is to Aristotle, "the tyrant of the schools," as Bacon calls him, that we owe the first clear conception of a science of the phenomena of mind ; he is the founder of psychology just as surely as he is the founder of logic. He had the greatest gifts for the analytic systematizing of philosophy that have ever been exhibited in the ancient world. He developed Plato's dialectic method ; Plato's "Ideas" still survived in the Aristotleon "Form," as opposed to "matter." His classification of the four causes—the formal, the material, the efficient and the final—is but a classification of the four kinds of antecedent conditions required for the existence of each thing. Unlike Plato who made institutions, instead of the senses, the ground of all true knowledge, Aristotle sought his basis in sensuous perception. He declared that ideas are nothing but the products of reason. He attached much importance to experiments and to induction. Virtue potentially belongs to man's nature; it is sub-divided into intellectual and moral. It is the final cause of the body. The highest function of the soul has no special organ with which it is connected; it is on emanation from the celestial sphere. The Supreme God of Aristotle is the perfection of wisdom.

The two most important post-Aristotelian philosophy are Stoicism and Epicurianism. The want of a criterion led in Greece to Scepticism, Epicurianism, Stoicism, the New Academy and finally drove the Alexandrians into the province of faith to escape from the dilemma. The end of philosophy with the Stoics was purely practical. Philosophy was identical with virtue. A triple division of philosophy was made, *viz.*, Physics, Logic, and Ethics. They considered that the soul resembled a sheet of paper on which impressions were made through the senses. The grand aim of the Stoical system was to strengthen the governing reason and to enthrone it as a fixed habit and character. In entire opposition to Plato, they held that the individual object alone had real existence; the universal, the general term, existed only in the mind as subjective thought. They paid great attention to the subject of natural theology. The broad distinction which we noticed at the outset between the Ionic and the Italic school re-appears in the marked contrast between the two meterialistic schools of later times. As the Stoics are pre-eminently Doric and Roman in character, so the Epicurians are Ionic and Greek. Historically speaking, Epicurianism may be roughly described as a combination of the physics of Domocritus with the Ethics of Aristippus. The end of Epicurean philosophy was even more excessively practical than that of the Stoics. Error, they maintained, lay not in the sensation, but in our interpretation of the sensation, in the inference we draw from it. When they spoke of pleasure as the end of life, they did not mean the pleasure of the sensualist. They meant the absence of bodily pain and mental anxiety. According to them, the soul consists of smooth round atoms, but it is no longer a simple substance.

The questions connected with the New Academy are those vital questions respecting the origin and certitude of human knowledge. The Stoics endeavoured to establish the certitude of human knowledge, in order that they might establish the truth of moral principles. The New Academecians were also Sceptics, but their scepticism differed from that of the Phyrrhonists. They affirmed that all things were incomprehensible. The sceptics did not affirm that. We find that their activity in philosophic speculation carried on for hundreds of years led the Greeks, after all, to the uncertain land of Scepticism. Philosophy had thus been rendered impossible in Greece; it was rejected as impossible. Philosophy having thus been destroyed, reason took refuge in faith.

Here is the natural place to pause in our sketch of the development of ancient thought. It is true that there is one phase of that development, the mysticism of the Neo-platonist school which we shall have to omit; for Neo-Platonism cannot be regarded as a simple development of Hellenic or Western thought; it is a hybrid between East and West.

But we must bring this inadequate sketch to a close, with some brief general reflections. We have tried, however, imperfectly, to follow through its numerous turnings and windings, the course of the tiny rill which took its source from the fountain-head of Miletus and expanded into the mighty river, draining through the earth, fed by tributaries distinguished by such names as Socrates and Plato, Aristotle and Zeno. Though to Mr. Lewes, Greek philosophy is but a grand failure, it had branched off into "the various sciences, Arithmetic, Geometry, Mechanics, Astronomy, Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, and even Zoology and Botany." Greek philosophy in its first period was, in respect to its object, a philosophy of nature. The Ionic and Italic philosophers and even Heraclitus, the Eleatics and the Atomists were, to a great extent, concerned with an enquiry into the origin and causes of the material universe. From Thales to Pythagoras philosophy was purely, if not mainly, cosmological. We have seen it withdrawing more and more from those vague speculations on the nature and origin of the universe, which first attracted the dawning intelligence of Greece, and concentrating its energies on the nature, the duty and the destiny of man. True philosophy begins only when there is a distinct consciousness of the difference between the spiritual and the corporeal. It was Anaxagoras who, a century after Thales, arrived at the principle of *nous* or mind, as something distinct from matter. It was the recognition of this subjective principle of *nous* that rendered possible in Greece the separation of the philosophical science from general theories about nature. It took more than two centuries before the crude idea of philosophy as held by Thales, the father of Greek thought, became elevated and developed by Plato into a consideration of the essence of Being. The great merit of the Socratic system consists in the development of the dialectic method which helped not only to transform art and literature but also to revolutionize social life ; and even before Socrates, the Sophists had laid the foundation of a strictly scientific method. To Plato and his followers, "life beyond the grave became the only real existence ; death was the enfranchisement from the prison of the body, the harbour of rest from the storms of life." Among the early philosophic thinkers of Europe, Aristotle was the first to give a clear conception of a science of the phenomena of mind. The philosophy of Greece has tended in the direction of the positive and the real. The Greeks found a scope for their speculative powers in the region of the phenomena of mind. The most valuable part of the writings of Plato and Aristotle refers to the subject of a scientific method of investigating philosophic problems.

Philosophic opinion on the subjective side oscillated between reason and sense. In the course of philosophic thought, the failure to get at a criterion had led to scepticism, and at last when reason failed to explain everything, philosophy became the servant of faith or religion. Thus was the circle of endeavour completed. With Thales, reason separated itself from faith ; with the Alexandrians, the two were again united. With Proclus ceased the line of speculation opened by Thales. In the history of Greek philosophy there are four distinct epochs :—

I. The epoch of Explanation.
II. The epoch of Criticism.
III. The epoch of Scepticism.
IV. The epoch of Reconstruction or further explanation.

The æsthetic sentiment, the Greek developed to a considerable extent. We also observe in the Greek mind the healthiest realism in combination with the most refined ideality. From early times the Greek devoted his attention to the problems of life and mind. He gave to the study of philosophy a turn of practical utility. He distinguished himself as a statesman in the political arena, as an orator on the platform, as an artist at the temple of the Muses and as a soldier in the battle-field. He plunged himself into the busy scenes of life and won fame and renown in the " noble strife " for worldly success. The deepest and subtlest problems never dominated or obliterated the concerns of every-day life, nay, it was in fact made subservient to the latter. But whatsoever philosophy had done to him, let us remember that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in *his* or in *our* philosophy.

We cannot conclude this paper better than by quoting the dictum of Socrates, the most celebrated of the ancient sages :—

" The highest human wisdom is the most assured knowledge of our own inevitable ignorance "

TWO HINDU WIDOWS' WORK FOR WOMAN UPLIFT.

By Mr. Saint Nihal Singh.

TWO Hindu widows put their heads together to evolve a scheme whereby they could contribute their mite to help others less fortunate than themselves. They thought and argued for a long time. There was before them the orthodox way prescribed by custom for such as themselves—to lead a life of piety and simplicity, chant prayers, and feed Brahmins. This in itself was not half as bad as it might be. But after all, it would accomplish no positive good, and their hearts longed to do something substantial. They possessed some money, a little cash, some jewels, and property. They could give all this away in charity, in relieving distress. This, too, was a worthy object, and one which Hindu widows had made their own for decades immemorial. Sensible and intelligent women that they were, they mused and discussed for long whether it was really the best thing for them to dole out their capital in petty alms. Something within them told them that, meritorious as this scheme was, there was still a better way. They set their brains to thinking again, and at last they decided to inaugurate an experiment—to invest their money as the nucleus of a fund which would enable them to establish a school for girls and young women, along lines especially suited to their requirements.

A man, himself an educationalist, who had devoted his whole life to furthering the evolution of India, was, in a large measure, responsible for the two widows' decision. He was Professor T. K. Gajjar—the eminent chemist—a brother of one of the women, Bhen Shivagauri Kalyanbhai Gajjar. It was he who had educated her and implanted within her mind the desire to devote all her resources to the good of the community, since she had neither husband nor children, and, being quite foot-free, could consecrate her life to social work. He slowly prepared his sister's mind, as well as that of her friend, Bhan Bajigauri Dolatrai Munshi, to dedicate their time, energy, and money to the cause of feminine emancipation. He promised to supplement their capital with a handsome donation from his own purse, and to interest his relatives and friends in the proposed institution. He also undertook to help the widows draw up a scheme of study especially suited to Hindu girls.

This was in the beginning of 1907. On May 18th, of the same year, the "Vanita Vishram"—literally "Home for Women"—was opened in Nagar Palia, Gopipura, Surat, the two widows, between them, raising Rs. 10,000 for the enterprise, which was increased by Rs. 40,000 subscribed by Professor Gajjar and his relatives and friends, thus making a total endowment fund of Rs. 50,000. Besides this, Professor Gajjar gave them the house in which to conduct the school, along with its furnishings and the equipment for teaching. As its name implies, the institution was designed to provide a refuge for widows and other women who were promising but could not afford to pay for their education. Paying boarders were also to be received, and non-resident pupils were to be admitted to the day school—primarily meant for resident scholars. Instruction was to be imparted in Gujarati—the native vernacular of the students—and only those subjects were to be taught which would make them cultured, helpful, companionable individuals, desirous of advancing themselves and society. The physique of the girls was to be developed, and their moral nature strengthened. Above all the founders planned that everything should be done to insure that the womanly nature of the pupils would in no wise be marred.

One would imagine that an institution so sensibly planned would be patronized from the very start, but the founders of the "Vanita Vishram" found that the right kind of pupils were not so ready to come as they ought to be. During the first year only three widows could be persuaded to enter the home. In 1908, two more were coaxed to come. In 1909 eight others were induced to swell the ranks of seekers after knowledge, but one of these left in a short time. In 1910, the number was increased by twelve, but six of these were unable to continue their studies, owing to adverse circumstances. Four more have been added to the muster roll during the present year. Of the twenty-two widows who to-day are in the home, fourteen are Brahmins, three belong to the carpenter caste, two are of the goldsmith and one is of the singer caste, while two are Jains. The ages range from eleven to thirty. All of them are provided with free board, lodging and clothes.

Besides the widows, there are at present eighteen paying resident scholars. Nine married women have been admitted, but now there are but four in the Vishram, their ages varying from eleven to eighteen. Eighteen unmarried girls in all have joined the Home, fourteen of them still remaining there, ranging in age from six to fifteen years. The Sessions Judge and the Collector of Surat are responsible for the presence of three of these girls. These officials are so pleased with the work the institution is doing that they make it a rule to put all the young ladies coming under their jurisdiction under the guardianship of the two widow workers.

Besides the resident pupils, 125 day scholars attend the classes. Amongst these are to be found a few grown-up women, who find the school hours, from twelve noon to five o'clock in the afternoon, to be very convenient, for their morning duties being done by midday, and their evening domestic tasks not commencing until after the classes disperse, they can devote the interval to the cultivation of their minds. A further inducement to both married and unmarried girls is that no fee whatever is charged.

The day school is conducted along novel lines, inasmuch as it does not follow the curriculum meant for boys. The courses prescribed are such as will fit the girls for life—as mothers, wives, and social workers. They are taught reading, writing, drawing and arithmetic, personal hygiene, morals and manners, singing and music, from the lowest forms, beginning when they are five years old, instruction being made pleasant by interesting object lessons, Froebel's methods being employed wherever possible. In the higher classes the rudiments of physics and chemistry, physiology and medicine are taken up, and every effort is made to co-ordinate them with domestic science so as to enable the pupils, on graduation, to take scientific care of the home. History, Geography and nursing also find a place in the curriculum. No attempt is made to specialize upon language. The medium of teaching is Gujarati—the mother-tongue of the students—and since suitable text books are not available in that vernacular, an effort is being made to supply this deficiency. The endeavour is made, of course, to give the girls a training that will enable them to read and write their vernacular with ease and facility, but the school concerns itself with graduating wives and mothers rather than literateurs. A little Sanskrit and English are taught to those in the higher grades, but these are side studies, in the strictest sense of the word.

Since all freedom is based upon economic independence, it is the aim of the "Vanita Vishram" to teach some useful art or trade to each girl—especially to the widows. With this aim in view, a room has been specially set apart where the scholars receive practical training, and where their work is exhibited and sold to the public. Here they learn knitting, sewing, crochet work and embroidery.

So far only a small beginning has been made, but it is hoped that, in the course of time, industrial training will become a strong feature of the institution.

The school is well-fitted for its work. Adequate kindergarten and scientific apparatus, as well as models, charts, and maps, being available. There is a good library replete with hundreds of good Gujarati books, and containing a few volumes in English bearing on the subject of female education and emancipation, and social reform.

The majority of teachers in the school are ladies; but scarcity of feminine instructors capable of taking up work of this kind necessitated the employment of a few old men. However, they are tolerated only on sufferance, and, as soon as female teachers can be secured, the males will have to go. The two widows who founded the institution and who conduct it, have formed the ideal of ultimately carrying on the work entirely with woman educators.

Each resident pupil is required to attend the school every day when it is open. Besides this, she must learn to keep house by working in the boarding establishment—a device which is double advantageous, since it not only enables the girls to become efficient housewives through actual practice of the theories they learn in the domestic science classes, but also makes it possible to conduct the institution on economical lines. The two widow-founders live on the premises and personally superintend the hostel and school.

No effort is spared to inculcate in the minds of the girls love for the country and the community. Whether they are maids, matrons, or widows, they are exhorted to help along the evolution of their people by ridding them of social and moral vices, enlarging their mental horizon, and developing their sympathies. These ideals are especially impressed upon the minds of the widows, who are advised to devote their lives to the betterment of the race. Thus the founders are doing all in their power to inspire their pupils with love of humanity, and to train them to act as missionaries for the uplift of India.

In order to place the institution on a stable footing, a committee of trustees composed of the two founders and two elected members, has been appointed to manage its affairs. This governing body works along lines laid down for it in a trust deed, carefully drawn up and legally registered in January of the present year. The electorate for the nomination of the elected trustees consists of donors who have given Rs. 500 or more to the institution. About Rs. 50,000 have been subscribed up to date—most of it by Professor Gajjar and his family—to form the nucleus of the endowment fund, the current expenses being met from interest accruing on this capital, and donations, subscriptions from philanthropic persons. The enthusiastic widows who are managing the enterprise have made up their minds to secure subscriptions to bring up the endowment fund to at least ten lakhs—and where there is such energy and love as these two brave souls have displayed, in all probability they will accomplish what they have set out to do.

THE INDIAN LABOUR PROBLEM.

By Mr. **Mukat Behari Lal Bhargava, B. A.**

THE Swadeshi movement started in 1905 in India has, during these 6 years, made but little progress. It is now seen alive only in towns where political life is more or less active; as an economic force it has lost much of its vitality. The reason why it could not make its way among the masses is the exorbitant and in some cases prohibitive prices of the home-made goods. If we go a step further and enquire into the cause of these high prices, we will realise that the Indian industries labour under various difficulties, the chief of which is certainly the inefficiency of Indian labour in spite of its apparent cheapness. We will in this paper discuss the problem of labour with reference to its bearing upon Indian Industries; how can it be made more efficient, and what are the means which can make the labourers more prosperous. In the term 'labourer' are included all the workers from the manager of a big concern down to the lowest unskilled coolie.

For sake of facility and proper discussion of the subject we will divide the Indian labourers into 4 classes. First, the common labourers who are mostly landless villagers and forming the lowest rank of unskilled workmen. They are generally good workmen in agriculture of the primitive kind, but this profession has made them lethargic, unenterprising and resigned to their lot owing to there being no gradation of work in field labour. Secondly. The artisan classes, such as carpenters, gold-smiths. The profession in the case of the operatives of this class is mostly determined by caste—once a shoe-maker always a shoe-maker, such is the inelasticity of the caste system. Though the possession of hereditary skill is more or less ensured, the caste system has the unwholesome effect of making these artisans inactive and unenterprising. They are generally illiterate and averse to change of profession. Thirdly. Trained Mechanics. This class is of a comparatively recent growth and forms an infinitesimally small portion of the population. Lesser still is the number of those who are suited for practical work in an up-to-date modern factory. In spite of their fewness the rate of salary in this class of workmen is much smaller than in the case of their European rivals; first, because the standard of their life which mostly determines the rate of wages, is lower, and then they are not sufficiently patronised by Indian capitalists. Fourthly. The business managers and assistants. This class is yet to be created in India. Our concerns are mostly managed by amateur lawyers, zemindars and retired Government servants who are totally ignorant of the ways of conducting a modern business, and this is one reason why most of the Indian concerns prove unsuccessful in the end.

One thing which is absolutely essential for making Indian labourers more efficient is to educate them both in professions and otherwise. Much has been and is being talked of technical education in these days, but it is a pity that all attempts made till now have been almost entirely fruitless. One reason of its failure is, as suggested by Mr. J. N. Sirkar in his Economics of British India, the absence of the system of universal primary education in India. The technical schools in the country, before devoting themselves to the training in arts and professions have to impart rudimentary knowledge of the Rs. 3 to their students, which is repelling to the sons of artisans and craftsmen and other labourers. The institutions thus become unpopular, their attendance falls and finally they have to be closed. Mr. Gokhale's Primary Education Bill will, if passed, go a long way in helping the cause of technical education also. The unwillingness on the parts of the parents to send their sons to such schools is also regrettable. In case of the labourers of the lowest order, their poverty stands in their way. They have to send their sons to work when they are yet children. Even such is the case with the workmen of the artisan class. The old system of apprenticeship from father to son is considered more efficient and less costly than sending the children to schools. In his father's workshop the boy helps his father in his work and thus adds to the wages of the family. These people do not understand the evils which result from such a premature employment. The physical strength of the workman is often exhausted at an age when he ought still be in the prime of life and when the efficiency of those by whom wealth is primarily produced, is imparied, it becomes a national loss.

In the masses and the classes the keen spirit of self-inprovement is also absent. It has been pointed out that "in the Manchester School of technology there are 5,000 night students who represent actually trade workmen willing after a long day's trial to attend night classes of their own free will and at their own expenses with the idea of bettering their knowledge while the day students or youths learning an industry from the beginning number 400 only. The training of workmen of higher descriptions, such as engineers, mechanics, is still poorer on account of its being more costly. In every big concern we have to employ the services of a European mechanic on a very high salary. If qualified Indians were available, the Indian concerns could save a good deal in the item of salaries alone not to speak of other indirect but decided advantage resulting from such appointments. I remember to have read in a newspaper some years ago that an Indian gentleman, after learning the art of match or pencil manufacturing in Japan, wished on his return to India, to revolutionise the industry in which he was an expert. But neither any of the existing factories employed him nor any new capitalist came forward to avail himself of the services of the gentleman. Getting disappointed he perhaps accepted some appointment in Government service or joined some other profession. This sad accident shows a lamentable lack of encouragement afforded to Indian industrial experts by the capitalist of the country.

Then the training of the 4th class of Indian labourers. There are and in fact can be no regular schools for them. The best place for their training is a practical concern alone. A promising boy should start as an apprentice in a factory, by close observation, steady application and hard labour he should get promotion grade by grade, and thus rise to be the assistant of the chief manager. If, on the death or retirement of the manager, the services of his assistant are retained by his successors for managing the business, future prosperity is ensured. But if the management descends from an untrained father to an untrained son, as is generally the case, the life of the business is shortened a great deal on account of the efficiency and skill being divorced from capital, the productive power of which is considerably diminished.

The education of labourers will result in another good, viz., it will produce a most decided improvement in the moral character of the workmen. If workmen are dishonest, the loss which is incurred is considerable as they must be superintended and watched and thus their labour is rendered less productive because a portion of the wealth has to be paid to supervisors.

Another means of making the Indian labour more efficient is the extensive application of the principle of the division of labour. This principle is at present in vogue in a very elementary state. For instance, a brazier attends himself to every detail in the process of converting a sheet of brass into a finished article. In European countries the principle of the division of labour has been carried to a wonderful degree. In the manufacture of playing cards there are 72 different operations. When these functions are appropriated to different operations, 15,500 cards are made in a day by 30 workmen, but if a single workman had to perform all these operations himself, he could make hardly one card a day. The advantages of the application of this principle can be read in any treatise of political economy, and it is not necessary to explain them here as India's case is no exception in this respect.

We shall now examine into the causes of lowness of wages in India and consider the means which can elevate the standard of labourers.

No question in the science of Indian economic can be of more practical importance and utility than an attempt to ascertain the causes which can raise the rate of wages. It is almost impossible to form a conception of the abject misery in which our agricultural labourers and unskilled coolies live in these days. The budget of daily expenses of a labourer and his family hardly comes to about three annas a day. The recent industrial commotion has, however, tended towards raising the wages of labourers in towns, but in suburbs the state of affairs admit of almost indefinite improvement.

One reason why wages are so low in India is that Indians are satisfied with a low standard of comfort and are unwilling to earn higher wages even on small sacrifices. An Indian labourer would be content with his two annas a day rather than go to some other place on even four times that amount. This applies not only to unskilled labourers, but to skilled labourers as well. Thus the immobility of Indian labour keeps the rate of wages at a very low figure. Then the change of work is not liked by Indian labourers. A blacksmith will go on working at his furnace which has been in use for generations, from morning till evening rather than go to a neighbouring factory to learn improved methods of his profession. The natural consequence is that his articles are beaten down in competition and fetch considerably lower prices which represent both the wages and profits of the smith.

Another cause of the lowness of wages is the increase of population in India. In an agricultural country like India increase of population means recourse to worse land for cultivation and lesser produce of articles of necessity. This makes the agricultural classes poorer, lowers the standard of their living and finally reduces the rate of their wages.

Many remedies for the bettering of the condition of the labouring classes in India have been and are suggested from time to time. It has, for instance, been pointed out that wages should be raised by a statute. This can only have baneful effect on Indian industries as the raising of wages by a Government enactment will result in lesser employment of capital. But there are some other agencies for securing a permanent advance in the condition of labourers. Improvements in the means of communication which leads to increased facilities for migration of labour is one of them. The labouring classes would by this means shift themselves when there is greater demand and consequently higher wages, and thus the demand and supply will be counter-balanced. "Relief is thus not only given in those cases when the supply of labourer is in excess of the demand, but the labour which is drafted away is often of inestimable value in developing the resources of those places where labour may be scarce." The United States of America and Canada own their prosperity to European labour.

Another remedy for low wages is suggested in trade unions and strikes. Trade unions and labour institutes serve several useful purposes. In the first place a trades union performs the ordinary functions of a friendly society. But its chief purpose is finally to organise the workmen of a particular trade into a combination sufficiently powerful to enforce various regulations both upon masters and workmen. The most effective weapon in the hands of these unions is a recourse to strikes, or absolute refusal on the part of the workmen of a particular trade to work. It need not be understood that strikes are impossible without the existence of trade unions. We have in India often seen cases of strikes among Railway and other employés, though there are no trade unions worth the name. But it must be admitted that the existence of trade unions is a help for strikes as without them co-operation in large bodies becomes almost impossible, and then the workmen are afraid to strike lest they may have to starve.

Colonisation is another remedy for low-wages. This subject has been touched above in connection with the facilities for migration, and we have cited the instances of the United States and Canada in this reference. Indian labour in Mauritius, South Africa and America is much more prosperous than it is in India. The colonisation has also raised the rate of wages in India by reducing the supply.

But no remedy for low wages can be really effectual unless it increases the efficiency of labour itself. This being the case, it can easily be surmised that education is the most powerful agency for advancing the cause of wage-earners in India. In the present age of competition the balance of advantage will ultimately turn in favour of the country which has the most intelligent and best educated workmen.

PRICES AND MONEY: A NOTE ON MONETARY THEORY.

By Mr. S. P. O'Donnell, I. C. S.

IT is not often that the "practical man" finds himself in agreement with the classical economists. More often he regards their views, when he chances to hear of them, with the distrust which all theories not his own tend to inspire in him. As it happens, however, on the central problem of money, his attitude is much the same as theirs. If prices rise all round, it seems obvious to him that this must be because there is more money in circulation. In fact he is an adherent of the quantity theory of money.

The quantity theory alleges that the quantity of commodities offered for sale being given, prices depend on the quantity of "money". But the term "money" requires definition. In the phraseology of the money market "money" means loanable capital. But neglecting this special connotation, the term may be employed in a wider or in a more restricted sense. The essential function of money being that of a medium of exchange, anything that performs this function may be regarded as "money." "Money" in this sense covers not only gold, silver and notes, but cheques, bills of exchange, and other forms of credit. And if this is the meaning to be given to the term in the quantity theory, that theory is irrefutable. Price is the amount of money which has to be paid for an article, and if prices rise, more money must be available for payment. But so defined the theory while perfectly true is perfectly valueless. It is simply an identical proposition, and in no way enables us to arrive at the conditions which determine the price level. To give the theory any real significance, money must be interpreted in a more restricted sense, and in fact its meaning for the purpose of the theory varies according to the monetary system under consideration. In countries where the gold standard is in force, it means gold; where the silver standard, silver. But it is also held to be applicable to the value of a token coinage or of an inconvertible paper currency. For the purpose of the present discussion, we may neglect the cases of the silver standard and inconvertible paper currencies; not that the principles involved are different, but because their importance at the present day is relatively small. In all the great commercial countries the gold standard in one or other of its two forms is in force. In one form, of which England is the leading exponent, gold is not only the standard of value, but the only standard coinage, silver being legal tender only for small payments; in the other (France, India, Mexico) while gold is the standard of value, silver is legal tender for any amount, but it is overrated and its coinage is confined to the State. We will begin with the case of a country in which gold is the only standard coinage.

Quantity of "money" means then quantity of "gold." But "gold" does not include all gold. Gold buried away in hoards has no effect on prices. Only that gold which is in circulation is held to be effective. But again, mere quantity is not the only element to be taken into consideration. The varying circulation of the monetary units has been taken into account. Some coins do not make a single purchase in the year whilst other change hands hundreds of times. The factors determining the value of money are, therefore:

(1) The quantity of gold in circulation,

(2) the average rapidity of circulation of the gold coins, or their efficiency,

(3) the amount of goods on sale,

and the formula is that the value of money varies inversely as its quantity multiplied by its efficiency.

If the activity of trade increases, then, in so far as this involves the use of metallic money, coins no doubt circulate more rapidly. But this greater rapidity of circulation is the effect of improving trade, and rising prices, not their cause. Prices do not rise, because in some mysterious fashion coins begin to circulate more quickly; nor do they fall because the rate of circulation diminishes. Characteristically, however, the quantity theory, in form at any rate, treats the rate of circulation as a cause. In any case the statement that quantity in circulation must be multiplied by efficiency is in effect an admission that prices (other things being equal) do not depend merely on the amount of gold in circulation. Still the older economists in the main regarded as does popular opinion still, quantity in circulation as the principal determinant When, however, we come to later statements of the theory, the abandonment of this view becomes almost explicit. From the monetary standpoint, the outstanding feature in the nineteenth century has been the development of deposit banking. In England and America, where this development has been greatest, practically all wholesale transactions and a large proportion of retail transactions, are effected by means of cheques, and the tendency is for their employment to increase still further, with of course a corresponding reduction in the use of gold. In the face of this development the quantity theory in its older form has lost all plausibility. It is hopeless to attempt to correlate price variations with the amount of gold in circulation. Since, however, all credit is ultimately based on metallic deposits, the upholders of the quantity theory contend that credit should be regarded as a form of increased monetary efficiency and therefore as coming within the formula above given. But in reality the original theory is thus transformed since it is not now quantity in circulation, but supply in relation to the amount of work, which is treated as the regulative factor. There is a certain amount of work for which gold is required—work which includes the requirements not only for circulation but also for Bank reserves, and the amount of this being given the value of gold varies inversely as the supply.

Now there is an element of truth in this statement. Quantity undoubtedly is a factor in the determination of the value of gold, *i.e.* prices. If any one doubts this, let him consider the question why it is that prices in general are what they are. The relative prices of different articles can be explained without reference to the supply of gold. But if we ask why the price of every article is not, say, ten times greater than it is, the only possible answer is that the supply of gold is not adequate to sustain such prices.

Nevertheless this admission does not justify us in regarding the quantity theory even in this more generalised form as justified. For it is implied in this theory, in all its forms, that every increase or diminution in the supply of gold has a proportionate effect on prices other things being equal. And this is not true.

That no such effect follows can be best seen by supposing an addition to be made to the world's stock of gold and by tracing out the different uses to which this gold will be put, and the effect of each such use. Let us say then that £2,00,00,000 of new gold are sent to London. Part of this will be bought up by the "trade" and used in the manufacture of gold articles or articles containing gold. The effect of this portion of the new supply on prices will obviously be small. It constitutes, no doubt, to the extent of its value, an increased demand for commodities, and thereby tends to raise prices. But its effect is exhausted in a single transaction. Precisely the same may be said of that portion which is absorbed by the "drain to the East" and passes into hoards. Far more important, however, is that part which goes to swell the reserves in the Bank of England. This will increase the supports and guarantees of the credit currency and will enable and dispose the Banks to give discounts and losses on easier terms. Money, *i. e.*, the hire of money will be cheaper, and businessmen will be inclined to take it more freely; and the increased amounts so taken will be applied in demand for goods, mostly for plant and raw materials in order to create or enlarge businesses. In this way the gold coming into the banking system may stimulate a far larger demand than is represented by its amount, and so produce a far larger rise of general prices than it would if it were directly applied in the demand for commodities. But no *constant* effect can be attributed to an increase in Banking reserves. The increase will always lower or tend to lower the rate of discount, but the influence of a lowered rate of discount will vary in different circumstances. Sometimes it will stimulate a large, sometimes a small expansion of trade. Cheap money is an obvious economy, and therefore a condition favourable to industrial enterprise. But it is only one condition, and if other conditions are unfavourable, *e.g.*, if demand is slack owing to bad crops or wasteful expenditure in war, the effect of the cheap money may be extremely small. Potent, therefore, though the indirect influence of an increased supply of gold may be, it is not possible in this way to justify the quantity theory.

The following table shows the amount of gold held at the end of December in each of the years 1900 to 1908 by the Bank of England, Bank of France, Imperial Bank of Germany and United States Treasury:—

Year.	Bank of England.	Bank of France.	Imperial Bank of Germany.	United States Treasury.
1900 ...	28,541,000	93,372,000	25,031,000	46,426,000
1901 ...	32,065,000	97,960,000	31,609,000	51,627,000
1902 ...	29,777,000	100,768,000	27,334,000	52,875,000
1903 ...	28,912,000	94,296,000	27,905,000	52,950,000
1904 ...	29,827,000	106,008,000	35,441,000	45,038,000
1905 ...	28,530,000	114,572,000	29,819,000	46,121,000
1906 ...	29,064,000	106,876,000	24,069,000	60,519,000
1907 ...	30,746,000	107,044,000	24,877,000	63,462,000
1908 ...	30,732,000	139,568,000	38,413,000	46,232,000

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In the same period the production of gold was (in round figures).

	Mlllions.
1900	52
1901	53
1902	60
1903	67
1904	71
1905	78
1906	82
1907	84
1908	87

Apparently very little of this immense output was retained in the reserves of the leading industrial countries, a fact which suggests that the indirect effect on prices through the banking reserves, of additional supplies of gold is not normally great ; and that whatever the explanation of the recent general rise [*] (if this be a fact) in world prices, it is hardly to be found in this direction.

But will not a portion of the new gold pass into actual circulation, and thereby increase prices. This no doubt is the popular impression, but in fact it involves a twofold error. In the first place it reverses the causal relation. If prices rise or if the production of commodities increases (without a proportionate fall in prices), more gold will undoubtedly be required ; though in a country, such as England, the currency requirements will be met almost entirely by the expansion of credit. But if prices and the production of commodities remain stationary, no more gold coins will be required, and no more will be taken from the banks ; for no one wants gold except for actual use, and *exhypothesi* the conditions do not demand an increased employment of gold. In the second place were the additional supply of gold to pass straight away into the circulation, and to be used for the purchase of commodities, its effect would be proportionate not to the addition thus made to gold in circulation, but to the addition made to the income of the country. Thus if £20,000,000 were to be expended in England in this manner, the effect on prices would not amount to a rise of more than 20/2,000, assuming that the income of England be estimated as it is approximately at £2,000,000,000. The contrary impression is based on the notion that the trade producing the goods first bought, would use the increased income to demand a corresponding increase of commodities on their part, and so on with other bodies supplying these commodities, until the original increased demand and its effect on prices were multiplied several times over. But this argument is entirely fallacious. The effect of the £20,000,000 upon the aggregate demand and so upon prices is completely exhausted in its first application, and all that is added to the total income and so to the total purchasing power of the community for the year is £20,000,000. Every purchase forms a link in an endless chain of purchases, but its effect is not therefore to be regarded as infinite or indefinitely great.

Let us now turn to the case of the gold standard, in the form in which it exists in France and India. Here gold is the standard, but silver is legal tender for any amount. The silver coins, however, are overrated; and their quantity is restricted. They are in fact token coins. The term "token coins" is sometimes confined to the case of coins, such as the English silver and copper coins which are only legal tender to a limited extent. But apart from the fact that in practice this limitation is not effective (in England the Banks will accept silver in any amount), there is no real justification for the distinction.* The essence of a token coin is the existence of a seigniorage, or difference between representative and intrinsic value; and the five franc piece, and the rupee on both of which heavy seigniorages exist are therefore token coins. Two problems arise in reference to such token coins. The first is as to the conditions which regulate their gold value; the second as to the relation which prices expressed in them bear to gold prices.

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[*] NOTE.—An all round rise in world prices is very difficult to establish. For one thing the index figures employed do not take account of more than a fraction of the total number of commodities, for another they entirely ignore securities.

The (gold) value of a token coin is often said to depend on the quantity issued or in circulation; and in fact the quantity theory is held to find here its clearest justification.

But this is an over statement. If no restrictions on coinage existed, the (gold) value of the latter coins could not exceed that of the metal contained in them. The effect of restriction of coinage is undoubtedly to enhance artificially their value, but for the maintenance of this value something further is required. The value of a thing is what it will fetch, and in the last resort the value of the token coin depends on the possibility of obtaining so much gold for it. Now restriction of coinage while effective in making the token coins circulate within the country of issue at a value, in relation to gold, much in excess of their extrinsic worth, cannot make them so circulate abroad. If, therefore, the balance of trade turns against a country so that there is a difference to be liquidated in actual coin, the liquidation cannot be effected by exporting token coins. Gold alone is effective for this purpose, and if gold cannot be obtained in exchange for the token coins at their "par" value, the exchange must fall. Whenever therefore, imports overtake exports, the Government or the Banks must be prepared to find the necessary gold either from their reserves or in the last resort by the use of their credit. The answer, therefore, to the first question is that the gold exchange value of the token coins depends on—

(1) restriction of coinage;

(2) the provision of adequate facilities for their redemption in gold, when necessary, at their "par" value.

Some explanation is required, however, as regards the factor of limitation of coinage. It is usually said that the issues should be restricted to the quantity necessary for the purposes of internal trade, and it is sometimes added that the best means of guarding against over issue is to make it obligatory for the State to redeem the token coins whenever presented at their par value. Now it is implied in this latter condition that an over issue is possible, and such no doubt is theoretically at least the case. What is not usually noted is that the over issue could only be effected in one way. It would not suffice for the State to coin additional tokens and deposit these in the Banks or its Treasuries or reserves. As the additional token coins could not be had for nothing, the public would not take them unless the condition of trade was such as to demand the use of more currency anymore than in England it would take sovereigns in the like circumstances. To get the new token coins into circulation, the State would have to actually utilise them in purchasing commodities or services. In this way alone could the circulation be increased in excess of the demands of trade. The effect on prices would be proportionate [*] to the ratio which the new issues bore to the income of the country, and if the process were carried far enough, might raise prices to an extent which would endanger the exchange.

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* Note.—Of course the English silver coins play a part immensely less important than that played in France by five franc pieces and in India by the rupee; and that is the justification for distinguishing the systems.

Observe where the distinction lies as between standard metal coins, *e. g.*, the sovereign, and token coins. It lies in the existence or non-existence of a seigniorage. For every sovereign coined or purchased the State would have to pay a pound. That is to say, it would have to reduce by taxation the income of the country by the full amount of the additional coinage. The total income of the country would, therefore, remain unchanged, and the effect on demand and therefore on prices would be nil. But token coins resemble a paper currency, which as Ricardo explained is in theory one of which the whole value has been appropriated as seigniorage. [†] A paper currency can be created by a stroke of the pen as it were. Hence in a country with an inconvertible paper currency, the State, so long as it can get them accepted can by making fresh issues, pay its way by an expenditure which is practically negligible, thereby adding to the monetary demand for commodities, and raising prices (as measured in its currency). Similarly, since the token coins can be manufactured for a sum much below their exchange value, the State by buying up silver, and coining this into tokens, can add to its resources and expenditure without a corresponding increase in taxation, increase the monetary income of the country, and raise prices. Of course, there are clear limits to the process and in fact the knowledge that a Government had embarked on such a course of action would probably result in a depreciation of the value of the token coins and a consequent rise of token prices far in excess of any effect which the direct addition to income could produce.

In practice it is as unthinkable that a great modern State should adopt this method of "raising the wind" as that it should resort for the same purpose to a depreciation of the coinage on the lines of the Tudors. The fear of an over issue of token coins is therefore really groundless.

So long as the token coins retain their full exchange value prices measured in them are simply gold prices, and gold prices are world prices. Once the process of depreciation begins prices so measured may fluctuate independently of gold prices. But so long as exchange does not fall changes in the prices of commodities as reckoned in token coins, are simply changes in the gold price level. This seems to follow from the very conception of a token coin. Nevertheless it is constantly stated as a fact or assumed as a possibility, that rupee prices have been largely raised, purely by additions to the coinage, though admittedly the exchange value of the rupee has been maintained. The rupee, that is to say, has depreciated relatively to commodities, whilst maintaining its value relatively to gold. And yet it ought to be clear that this is impossible. To illustrate the impossibility let us suppose that the price of a ton of wheat for export to London is raised in the way suggested, by 30 Rs. The exchange remaining at par, the exporter must charge two pounds more for his wheat. But obviously he will not get this enhanced price. No currency operations in India can raise the level of world gold prices. Therefore the wheat will not be exported. And so with all other commodities which are exported. Imports on the other hand would leap up, and the exchange would collapse. The whole supposition is in fact fantastic.

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[*] NOTE.—This would be the direct effect but see below.

[†] NOTE.—This is strictly only true of an inconvertible paper currency.

If the above reasoning is correct, quantity properly conceived is a factor in the value of all kinds of money, but the strict quantity theory is not defensible, and in particular quantity of money in circulation is a sign, not a cause of price changes. This last conclusion will, no doubt, be summarily rejected by many in respect of the recent rise in Indian prices. Facts are facts, they will say; prices have risen and the rupee circulation has increased, and what more do you want? But "facts" have no significance apart from the interpretation placed upon them. It is a fact that prices have risen and a fact that there have been large issues of rupees. It is an interpretation of these facts, or in other words a theory, that the second is the cause of the first, and like every other this theory requires more justification than repeated assertion.

THE
Hindustan Review
LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH:
THE MAHARANI OF BARODA ON THE POSITION OF WOMEN. *

WE heartily congratulate the Maharani of Baroda on her entry into the Republic of Letters. The great interest which Her Highness feels in all progressive movements for the amelioration of the lot of her countrywomen is well-known, and the present book is only a fresh proof of her keen anxiety to do all she can to improve their condition. As the Maharani tells us in her vigorous and well-written preface, she was during her several visits to Europe and America " struck by the difference between the position of women in English and in Indian public life," and was naturally led to ask the questions, " What can be the reason for this great difference" and " what is the remedy and how is it to be applied." Believing that an account of "the impressions gathered during my travels on matters peculiarly affecting the position of women" may do something to awaken them from the lethargy of ages by enlightening their minds and broadening their mental outlook, she determined to lay some of her experiences before her countrywomen, and chose Mr. S. M. Mitra, the whilom editor and pamphleteer of Hyderabad fame, as her coadjutor, to materialize her views and edit her impressions. This is the genesis of the volume, now presented to the public.

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* *The Position of Women in Indian Life.* By the Maharani of Baroda. (Longmans, Green & Co., London. 1911.)

The bulk of the volume consists of accounts of women's activity in the West, chiefly as wage-earners. There are chapters on Agriculture, Architecture, Arts and Crafts, Hostels and Tea-shops, Women Inspectors, Money-lending, etc., showing how women are working successfully in these and other professions in Europe and America, and giving in some cases, short accounts of the industries themselves, for the information of Indian women. These chapters are, no doubt, useful in so far as they give Indian women an insight into the life of their Western sisters and enhance their self-respect by disproving the oft-repeated assertion that woman is *inferior*, to man. There is also a casual mention, here and there, of those particularly favourable Indian conditions which render certain of these industries specially suited to India. The last chapter deals with the position and progress of women in Japan.

We have no desire to be fastidious in our criticism of this first attempt of an Indian princess in the realm of authorship, but we cannot help saying that the name given to the book seems to be a complete misnomer. Instead of *The Position of Women in Indian Life*," the book ought to have been called *The Position of Women in European Life*, for while it gives a comparatively full account of women in Europe, there is hardly any but the most casual mention of the present condition of Indian women. Another feature of the book is the very prominent position, given in this account of European womanhood, to wage-earning women, and the exhortations addressed now and again to Indian women, show that they could do the like if they tried. Now, we do not think that the great need of Indian womanhood is financial independence. Certain natural causes, operating in the West, compel a number of women to lead single lives, and hence the problem of independent professions for women has there become a burning question. But, this condition of things is neither necessary nor desirable in India. The normal sphere of woman's activity is neither Business nor Politics but Home, and the ideal which we have to aim at in India is the removal of social disabilities and the creation of healthy, enlightened and good women. We do not want the new woman, who slaps police constables, nor the suffragete, who breaks the windows of cabinet ministers, but women capable of being true helpmates of their husbands, and mothers capable of rightly training their children. For the attaining of this end the reform of certain social customs, and the revaluation of certain of our ethical ideals to suit the requirements of modern life, is necessary. But it does not mean that the energy of women should be devoted to money-making, or even to money-lending. This does not imply that woman is *inferior* to man : it only means that she is *different*. The point has been put very well by Mr. Frederic Harrison in his *Realities and Ideals*.

> "It is a difference of nature, I say, an organic difference, alike in body, in mind, in feeling, and in character,—a difference which it is the part of evolution to develop and not to destroy, as it is always the part of evolution to develop organic differences and not to produce their artificial assimilation. A difference I have said, but not a scale of superiority or inferiority. ° ° ° Who can say whether it is nobler to be husband or to be wife, to be mother or to be son ? Is it more blessed to love or to be loved, to form a character or to write a poem ? Enough of these idle conundrums, which are as cynical as they are senseless. Everything depends on *how* the part is played, how near each one of us comes to the higher ideal—*how* our life is worked out not whether we be born man or woman, in the first half of the century or in the second. The thing which concerns us is to hold fast by the organic difference implanted by nature between man and woman, in body, in mind, in feeling, and in energy, without any balancing of higher and lower, of better or of worse."

That this is also the view of the Maharani herself need not be doubted, for she expresses herself in unequivocal terms in her preface. "I trust, however," says Her Highness "that it has been made quite clear throughout this little volume, that what is required is not antagonism, but co-operation between the sexes ; that woman needs the guidance of man to enable her to achieve the highest of which she is capable, as man needs woman's help and sympathy to aid him on his path through life. Feminine individuality is essentially distinct from the masculine. The charactertistic features of both are deeply rooted, and any effort to coerce them would probably mean not evolution but revolution. The great organic distinctions between man and woman will always tend to produce different charactertistics in each. Such differences should be fostered, not checked ; that development may proceed on natural lines, following the guidance of those fundamental dissimilarities which through long ages have been the distingushing marks of the sexes." Our only regret is that the point has not been made clear by Mr. Mitra in the rest of the volume.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

CHINA IN TRANSITION.*

I.

FROM the nature of his position as District Officer and Magistrate at Weihaiwei Mr. Johnston has had abundant scope for the study of Chinese life and character in his particular sphere, and his researches into their legends, folklore and religious cults have, by making him intimate with the moulding influences, enabled him to comprehend and sympathise with the Chinese in a way that none but a resident could. He contends that the success of the British occupation of the Weihaiwei territory may be traced in large measure to the respect shown by British officials to the Confucian ideals, which are "strong, living forces among all classes." It is this principle of utilising the best features of non-Christian religions which many leaders of modern missionary thought are endeavouring to awake and foster, and in their case has its rise in the belief that while Christ was the *highest*, He was not the *first* revelation of God, but in the ages before Christ that revelation was ever widening, and only the prejudiced mind can fail to see in what is best in Confucianism, Buddhism, etc., the working of the All-Father who left not Himself without witness throughout the world, but is in all and through all. It is in a great measure due to the veneration ("worship" it cannot strictly be called in our sense of the word) of ancestors that the ethics of Confucius still exercise such an influence on Chinese life and character, having helped to make of them a civilised nation with a written history long before there existed any material for a European chronicle. True, the *bona-fide* history is mixed up with legend and folklore, descriptions of people and places, and a multitude of events to us seemingly trivial, but apparently of paramount interest to the chronicler. Thus the "history" of a single province fills nearly two hundred volumes.

Mr. Johnston makes several interesting comparisons between Chinese superstitions and those of other parts of the world, the British Isles included, as, for example, the care taken in China, the Shetlands and Orkneys not to let a cat go near a corpse, while the covering of mirrors when a death occurs is a practice common to parts of China, India, Belgium, England, the Shetlands and Orkneys. There is hardly a phase of life not introduced in this volume, and even those who do not in every way see eye to eye with the author will realise his exceptional ability and appreciate his tactful dealing with a foreign people. His chapters on Confucianism, Taoism, etc., show real insight into the religious side of Chinese life in Weihaiwei and one cannot but regret that he has not evidently met with more of the type of missionary whose efforts drew such hearty unsolicited appreciation from Dr. Morrison, perhaps the greatest living authority on China and "things Chinese"; indeed, as a well-known writer rather cynically observed, Dr. Morrison has forgotten more about China than most writers on the subject ever knew.

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* *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*. By R. F. Johnston. (John Murray. 15s. *net.*)

China Under the Empress Dowager. By J. O. Bland and E. Backhouse. (Heinemann, 16s. *net.*)

Gleanings from Fifty Years in China. By the late Archibald Little. (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Ltd. 7s. 6d. *net.*)

Changing China. By the Rev. Lord William Cecil and Lady Cecil. (Nisbet and Co., London. 10s. 6d. *net.*)

II.

In the second volume we have a vivid picture of the complex life and character of one of the most remarkable women the world has ever known. "To understand the life and personality of the Empress Dowager it is before everything essential to divest our minds of racial prejudice, and to endeavour to appreciate something of the environment and traditions to which she was born. . . . Judged by the rough test of public opinion and accumulating evidence *in her own country* Tzu Hsi's name will go down to history in China as that of a genius in statecraft and a born ruler, a woman 'with all the courage of a man, and more than the ordinary man's intelligenee.'" Possessed of calibre vastly in advance of those who surrounded her, her career was one of almost unbroken success (from *her* point of view) ever since the day when she presented the then Emperor with a son and heir, and thus gained as Empress-mother the coveted position of first lady of the land, though not the senior consort. The dissolute, feeble characters of her husband and son only served to strengthen her position, which by careful intrigue she contrived to retain long after it had ceased to be hers by right. The charm of her personality often stood her in good stead, for she could be most affable towards those whom she hated, even while secretly devising means for their destruction. She never struck till her plans were securely laid, and then the blow would fall with astounding precision, and would be followed by a decree representing the act as a national blessing; "her triumph was complete; essentially a triumph of mind over matter." Most interesting quotations from decrees and memorials form a considerable portion of this volume; the following extracts from one of the latter illustrate the utter contempt (not always absolutely unmerited) of the Chinese for foreigners as recently as 1873; and, be it noted, this memorial was penned by one of China's ablest men; little wonder then that her masses think as they do.

> "A secret memorial urging the throne to put a stop to official wrangling and to excuse the ministers of foreign nations from kneeling at audiences. . . . Our statesmen first debated whether the ministers should be granted audience at all, and having agreed upon this they proceeded to discuss whether they should be compelled to kneel. . . . As Mencius remarks, 'Why should the Superior Man engage in altercation with birds and beasts?' I have heard that the rulers of foreign nations are deposed by their subjects like pawns on a chess board. I have seen with my own

> eyes the foreigners who live in Pekin walking abroad, preceded by the females of their household either on foot or in Sedan chairs ; the men folk following meekly in their rear like servants—all unashamed. . . . Is there a word in any one of their treaties concerning reverence for parents, or the cultivation of virtue and respect for the nine canons of rightful conduct ? No ! Is there one word in any one of them as to the observance of ceremony, as to duty, integrity and a proper sense of shame, the four cardinal principles of our nation ? Again, no ! . . . They think only of profit, and with the meretricious hope of profit they beguile the Chinese people. . . . Yet we expect them, forsooth, to act as if they were endowed with the five cardinal virtues ! They know not the meaning of the heaven-ordained relationship between sovereign and minister, between father and son (etc.), yet we propose to require them to conform to the five principles of duty ! . . . One might as well bring together dogs and horses, goats and pigs, in a public hall and compel these creatures to perform the evolution of the dance. . . . Our statesmen should bear in mind that to dispute with these foreigners is unworthy of us. ”

To this the Empress Dowager (for the Senior Consort *nominally* shared Tzu Hsi's power) replied that foreign ministers should be allowed to act in accordance with their own court ceremonies. "Thus the throne will display its benevolent indulgence to the strangers from afar and make a proper distinction between Chinese and barbarians." True, the recent wars between East and West have greatly modified Chinese attitude towards "barbarians," but many of their concessions are due merely to the expediency of the moment. The concluding chapter of this volume is a masterpiece as a summary of the complex character of the Dowager Empress and her influence in the Celestial Empire, and the authors are to be congratulated on their handling of a difficult subject, as also on the beautiful illustrations with which the letterpress is interspersed.

III.

In judging the merits of the third volume it is essential to bear in mind that it is a posthumous edition consisting of several distinctly independent essays, the majority of which appeared some years ago in leading English, American and Chinese periodicals. Had the author lived to revise them and produce them in their present form, he would probably in the light of recent events " have modified the expression of his views on specific points " (for example, he would hardly in 1910 have spoken of China as being " in her dotage"), and would have avoided certain overlappings of views. In these " gleanings" we look at China through the medium of one who was at once merchant, scholar and traveller, and who gives us the result of this three-fold experiences. He found good reason to be grateful for his knowledge of the Chinese language, and considered that a " great reform needed in our business methods in China would be the training of young English merchants to be fluent Chinese scholars." At the same time he realised that this was a "counsel of perfection, since to learn Chinese well enough to dispense with an interpreter or writer would mean a young man beginning not later than fifteen years of age and devoting himself exclusively to the language for three years at least. He was an ardent advocate of the "open door" in China, and deprecated the often unfair treatment of her rights by foreign powers, often, alas ! under the cloak of religion.

In the last two essays (hitherto unpublished) Mr. Little criticised missionary methods, and gave interesting comparisons between Christianity and Confucianism, showing that Occidentals have much to learn from Orientals. He advocated a more eclectic method in religious spheres, and many of his principles find a place in the programme of missionary thought in the present day.

IV.

The peculiar aptness of the title of the last book under review, may be gathered from a remark of one on furlough: "You must not rely on me, for I left China *three months ago* and what I write may be *out-of-date.*" China has astounded the world during recent years by an extraordinary awakening which Lord William Cecil regards as two-fold. "From one aspect China is awakening to the value of the science and arts of the West; from the other China is awakening to the fact that there is in the West a power which comes from goodness, and that goodness has its root in Christian faith." In the first chapter are summed up the incidents which have led to this awakening, the culminating one being the battle of Mukden, which the author believes "will prove one of the turning points in the history of the world." From its result China learnt that while it is possible for an Eastern nation to defeat a Western one, she can only do so by adopting Western methods. Another awakening, which is inevitable, is to the fallacy of the Confucian doctrine that the test of truth lies in worldly success. The materialist naturally asks how it is that they, the faithful followers of Confucius, have so failed, while others, ignorant of his teaching, have had such success in affairs of the world. How shall Europe replace this lost faith in China's great philosopher and educationalist? To answer this question seems to be the chief aim of Lord William Cecil, who, by his exceptional knowledge of the great Empire from many varied points of view, and from his rare gift of imparting that knowledge in a lucid, statesmanlike and terse style, is admirably fitted for the task. In his wife he had an able collaborator who gathered information relating to the women-folk which no man could have done in a country where a man may not even inquire after his most intimate friend's wife. On two occasions they visited China, first in 1907 when he was a member of the Shanghai Century Conference, and again in 1909 on behalf of the United University Scheme, in order to inquire into the possibilities of the foundation of a Western University in China to guage the probable attitude towards such a scheme of Chinese officials on one hand, and English, American, French and Italian missionaries on the other hand. Previous to starting he had been assured by the Director of Chinese students in London who sought an interview with him, that the proposed scheme would meet with the greatest approval in China.

The present system of education in China, like many other of her schemes, is excellent on paper, but a dismal failure in practice, and yet most thinking men agree that it is inadvisable to educate Oriental in Europe. The one alternative is to give China Universities where her ablest men could have the best and highest education, without the necessity of seeking it in an environment, which all agree is detrimental to their national character. The Chinese are peculiarly unamenable to the leading of an alien race, but "if they are to be led by their own race, their own race must be fit to lead them. They must have leaders who understand the whole of Western knowledge and will be able to take what is true and leave what is false." In order that China "may learn Western knowledge so thoroughly and so well that she may be able to distinguish the good from the bad," something must be done to safe-guard her students against moral deterioration which invariably is the result of education without the foundation of some religious faith. In order to do this it is suggested that each missionary body should have a hostel or hostels in connection with the Universities where their students might lodge and have the much-needed supervision of those interested in their religious and moral as well as intellectual life. The interest of this volume is, however, not confined to education; the traveller, the world historian, the statesman and the missonary, will all share with the educationalist in his appreciation of it. There is a particularly fine chapter on boating on the Yang-tse, and the illustrations throughout are excellent.

THROUGH PERSIA IN DISGUISE.*

By Mr. S. Z. Ali., B. A.

It is really unfortunate that the publication of such an important travel book should have been delayed so long. Being out of date, it has lost all the charm that attaches to books of this kind which are generally, if not always, published soon after the itineraries come to a close. Had the memoirs been published in 1886, the year in which the author's Perso-Afgan travels ended, or at least in 1889 after his retirement from consular Service, they would have been of the highest geographical and political value, although it must be owned that the archæological and ethnological interest attaching to them is as fresh as ever. The Persia of the eighties is not the Persia of to-day. It has undergone great and far-reaching changes. Nevertheless, Col. Stewart's diary possesses a peculiar interest for those who would like to know the conditions which obtained in Persia and the bordering countries in the eighties. It strongly appeals to Anglo-Indians as the record of one who rendered meritorious service to this country during the Indian Mutiny and in the North-West frontier campaigns and who, some years later, travelled alone through, and along the marches of, Persia, a feat which very few Europeans had attempted before. The narrative

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**Through Persia in Disguise.* By Charles E. Stewart, C. B., C. M. G., C. I. E. (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. 1911. 15 s. nett.).

setting forth the incidents of the author's adventurous career makes very enjoyable reading. The illustrations, both coloured and plain, and maps prepared largely from the surveys made by the author himself, lend additional interest to the book. The diary, we are told, has been issued at the "oft-expressed desire of friends and acquaintances of the late Col. Stewart" and is edited by Mr. Basil Stewart, editor of the "*Literary Year Book*," who has inserted here and there footnotes to elucidate the context. Mrs. Stewart contributes an introductory chapter, giving a sketch of her husband's career and adding a few episodes which do not appear in the narrative. The title is ill-chosen, although the editor advances the rather inexcusable plea of chronological order for its inversion. Even then we take objection to it, for an infinitesimal portion of the journey occupying a little over four months was actually spent "in disguise."

The book is divided into two parts. The first part is mainly devoted to Col. Stewart's field services in India. It begins with the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny and its suppression at Peshawar. The next chapter or two are taken up with the Umbeylah Campaign which was directed against the Bunerwals, a frontier tribe, and the Hindustani fanatics settled at Sittana. The subsequent chapters describe the author's journey home through Persia and back across Syria and Turkish Arabia. In the narrative there are side-references to a variety of subjects. Among others, there are some interesting reflections regarding the original home of the tiger—(now a denizen of the tropics) whom the author considers an intruder from Manchuria and in support of his plea adduces that it is plentiful in the southern parts of Siberia, in Corea and even in the island of Saghalien, that there is no Sanskrit word for tiger,[*] that we never read of the Assyrian kings slaying tigers, that they are not found in Ceylon which was evidently separated from India before their arrival, and so on. Of unique interest to the Hindus, is the allusion to the existence of a *Jwalamukhi* or Hindu fire temple, not unlike the one in the Kangra district of the Punjab, so far away as Bakin in Russia, watched and tended by Hindu priests from India. On the floor close to the fire, we are told, is a small copper tablet with a figure of the elephant-headed Ganapati deeply engraved on it. It is said that within the enclosure of the temple, there is a more modern building dedicated to the god Siva, as is shown by his iron trident fastened on the roof. The fire temple as well as the inscription on its walls are illustrated by means of photographs which may stimulate research in this direction. But it is really a wonder how this temple was suffered to remain in the land of the Tartars under whose proverbial feet even grass does not grow. May it be that even the much-maligned Tartar is after all human! The first part ends with the Jowaki campaign which was directed against another frontier tribe of India—the Jowaki Afreedis

The second part is comparatively very long and is the more interesting of the two. It is entirely devoted to the author's extensive West Asian travels which qualified him first to be posted on the Perso-Afgan frontier, then join the Afgan Boundary Commission and later on enabled him to enter consular service in Persia and Russia. Barring the overland journey through Europe, the author's travels began at Constantinople along the Bosporous to the Trebizond on the Black Sea and from thence, on land, along the Ziganch Pass in Erzroum and then to Bayazid near which the Persian frontier was crossed. First, Tabriz was reached along the shores of Lake Urumiah and then a dash was made for Ispahan *via* Kum and Kashan along the fringes of the Dasht-i-Kavir or great Salt Desert Then commenced the journey "in disguise", after which the book takes its name. Engaging the services of two Armenians, Col. Stewart, to keep the people of Julfa (Ispahan) off the track, first ostensibly moved in the direction of the Hamadan road, but latterly turned from Habibabad towards Yezd and then took the road to Kharasan (ancient Parthia) across the Great Persian Salt Desert, and thence travelled to Daragiz in the extreme North-East of Persia. On the road in a lonely place, he doffed his European costume and donned an Armenian or Persian dress, assuming the character of "Khwja Ibrahim." The three, describing themselves as Calcutta Armenian traders, marched along the most inhospitable of routes interspersed with stretches of "Kavir" where water could not be had for several marches, and even if had was very brackish at most places. To escape detection, they had to avoid all consular towns and those having telegraph offices and hence their tour was made more arduous. Passing through Ardakan and Sukand, they crossed a very trying desert tract of nearly 120 miles, beset with Baluchi camel raiders from Seistan, with the Dashti-Kavir on one side and the Desert of Lut on the other and at last arrived at Chardeh from where the route was less trying, although the region continued to be more or less desert until Turbat-i-Hidari was reached. Here "Khwaja Ibrahim" met two Afgan merchants, one of whom suspected his disguised but his suspicions were allayed by a clever ruse on the part of the "Khwaja." Col. Stewert then travelled directly towards Meshed, but keeping himself away from the town, struck the road to Daragez on the border of Turkoman country. He arrived at Mohomedabad, the capital of Daragez, and called on the governor with some presents, introducing himself as an Armenian merchant of Calcutta who had come to Daragez to buy Turkoman horses. As the governor himself owned several horses, he was very much pleased at the idea and to keep up his character as an Armenian horse-dealer, Col. Stewart had to purchase a few horses. At Mohomedabad, he met Mr O'Donovan, the correspondent of the *Daily News*—a daring enterprise on the part of the London paper to send its correspondent thirty years ago to such an out-of-the-way station! The governor took him and Mr. O'Donovan to Lutfabad, a border town of Persia, now a station on the Trans-Caspian Russian Railway. He returned to Mohomedabad and fearing that, if either the British or the Russian Minister at Tehran were to hear of his wanderings about the Persian border near the Turkmian country, they would immediately order him back, he returned to Meshed and before entering the town, threw off his disguise and appeared in his European dress.

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[*] We doubt the correctness of this statement as there is the distinct word ***vyagkra*** **for tiger in Sanskrit.**

The disguise lasted from September 30, 1880, to February 9, 1881. Its real object was to enable the author to travel about more conveniently as an Armenian than as an Englishman, free from the solicitous care of the English and Russian consuls who would not allow him to exploit uncertain regions and also to collect first-hand information, unhampered by the Persian governors who, by imposing on him a guard ostensibly to honour and protect him but really to prevent his holding free and independent communication with the border Turkomans, would defeat the very object of his journey. After a fortnight's stay at Meshed, Col. Stewart left for Tehran along the great Persian post-road and reached England *via* Baku on the Caspian. He read a paper before the Royal Geographical Society on his journey across the Deshti-Kavir or Great Persian Salt Desert and also his visit to Daragez. After a few months' stay iu England, he went out again to Persia, now in official capacity, being posted on the Perso-Afgan frontler with Khaf as head quarters. He travelled through Russia to Tehran and then leaving the usual grand post-road, took the more southern route across the desert, passing through Aradan, Samnan, Biarjumand Tawrun and thence crossing the "disguise" route at Kundar, proceeded straight to Khaf. While staying at Khaf he travelled far and wide along the Afgan marches. A bold plunge was also made into the Lut Desert which is all the more praiseworthy as it was done in the height of summer. Having got orders from Simla to rejoin his regiment, Col. Stewart decided to go to India *via* London, but on arriving in London, he was ordered to go back to his former post, and, if possible, to live at Mohsinabad which was nearer the Afganf frontier. He went out again to Persia *via* Russia and along the Tehran-Meshed post-road. On his way he had an interview with the Shah at Meshed. During his stay at Mohsinabad, too, he made excursions to several places on the Afgan border. On returning to England on sick leave, he was sent out again as Second Assistant Commissioner on the Afgan Boundary Commission under Sir Peter Lumsden of Panjdeh fame. After being engaged for some time in boundary operations and fortifying Herat, he once more went out to England but had to return to Persia as H. M.'s Cousul at Resht on the Caspian Sea. Shortly after he was transferred to Astrabad and then acting for General MacLean at Meshed, he became permanent Consul-General at Tabriz after which, at his own request, he was posted to Odessa in Russia. During his consular service, too, his passion for travel did not cease. While at Astrabad he made several excursions into Yomut Turkoman country and visited the camps of the Atabai and Jafarbai Yomuts whose accounts greatly interested the Shah who, descended as he always is through the female line from the Kajars, a Turkish tribe, naturally listened to them with rapt attention. With his transfer to a European station, ended the adventurous career of Col. Stewart.

Such is a brief outline of the author's extensive and fascinating travels. During his thirty-eight years' service in Asia, he passed through Persia no less than a dozen times, encircling the Dasht-i-Kavir on three separate occasions. No less daring was the plunge into the Lut Desert. He was also afforded the unique opportunity of visiting, in their native haunts, the various Turkoman tribes from the Caspian down to the frontier of Afganistan—a record travel in itself! Col. Stewart had a craze for travel, always preferring unfrequented routes to regular post-roads. Gifted with an iron constitution and endowed with a dogged determination, he braved the dangers of "Kavir" and desert, exposing himself many a time to the Baluchi and Turkoman raiders. He seems to have had a charmed life in the desert for he was not even once attacked or plundered. Scattered throughout the travel narrative, are many interesting allusions to a variety of subjects, but space forbids us from referring to or commenting upon them. Suffice it to say that the book is a mine of information to intending tourists who wish to explore the marches of Persia.

There are four useful appendices at the end of the book. The first is the full text of a paper on the Turkomans, read before the Royal Geographical

Society which has already been referred to, The second is on the use of Petroleum as fuel in steamships, which, in view of the fact that it has passed beyond the experimental stage and is now extensively used in the British Navy, is of great interest to the naval student. The third is on the "Central Asian Railway Extension" and is of unique interest to India, as it contemplates the linking up of the Russian and Indian railway systems which, though for political reasons withheld up till now, will, one day, be a reality and establish the overland route to Europe. The construction of the Bagdad Railway which is now being actively pushed on, lends additional interest to the same paper. The fourth and last is on "Bible Work in Persia" in which missions and missionaries will, we are sure, feel interested. The narrative is delightfully told in simple straightforward English, enlivened by incidental information of historical and archæological interest. It is admirably calculated to foster the spirlt of travel in the hearts of its readers.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

LITERATURE OF EUROPEAN PHILOSOPHY.

A Beginner's History of Philosophy. By H. E. Cushman, M. A., Ph. D. Two Vols. (George Harrap & Co, 9 Portsmouth Street, Kingsway, London, W. C,) 1911. Price 6*s.* a vol.

The Growth of Modern Philosophy. By C, Delish Burns, M. A. (Sampson Low, Marston & Co, Ltd., London). 1911. Price 3*s.* 6*d.* *net.*

The Wisdom of Schopenhauer. Selected and translated by Walter Jekyll, (Watts & Co., 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London). 1911. Price 6*s.* *net.*

Selected Works of Voltaire. Translated by Joseph McCabe. (Watts & Co., 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London.) 1911, Price 6*d.*

PROFESSOR CUSHMAN'S *Beginner's History of Philosophy*, while intended primarily for the use of students in college classes, is written in an interesting and vivid style which will commend it strongly to the general reader. In the first volume the author, after a general discussion of the three periods of philosophy, begins with Greece and ends with William of Ockham, the last of the mediæval schoolmen. Thus both ancient and mediæval philosophy are treated, the latter extending until about 1453. The author's sense of proportion is well displayed by the space allotted to the different periods, and the cultural background is developed with not a little skill. The handling of the various ethical schools, just after Aristotle's death, is especially worthy of note, but the treatment of the succeeding religious period, while good, is not quite so satisfactory. Not infrequently one feels that, if the analysis had been a little deeper and if the differences had been placed in sharper antithesis, there would have been a gain. This, however, may have been contrary to the author's purpose. The few maps and the cuts illustrating the different phases of the Ptolemic theory of the heavens are a distinct advantage. Throughout, the book is written from those standpoints of history, geography, and literary knowledge with which the beginner may correlate the philosophical doctrines those conditions produced. Maps, diagrams and summaries, aid in the serious study of the work. Dr. Cushman has done the English reader a service in reproducing from the master hand of Professor Jowett his list of selections from his translations of Plato, which the late principal of Balliol made up for the use of his students.

The second volume is devoted to the four and a half centuries since modern philosophy rose in the Renaissance. Thus covering a much shorter period than its predecessor's treatment of ancient and mediæval philosophy, this volume involves for the beginner a more difficult task. Modern philosophy, as Dr. Cushman remarks, is the more subjective part of his subject ; it exhibits the conflicting aspirations that accompany the development of individualism. Moreover, the beginner has not entirely freed himself from mediæval notions which modern philosophy has outgrown, and therefore must do serious thinking to modernize himself intelligently. The merit of Dr. Cushman's treatment of a study attended with such difficulties is that he facilitates the beginner's task by presenting philosophy in its successive stages, not as isolated from, but as closely related to the whole intellectual and political movement of the time ; *e. g.*, during the stage of the Renaissance (1453-1690) the central interest was "the new world" ; during the stage of the Englightenment (1690-1781) it was "the new man" ; this was "the period of 'liberty, equality and fraternity.' After this comes—Kant being the hyphen—the stage of German idealism, and, lastly, the non-creative ninteenth-century stage of empirical examination and reshaping." The filling given to this framework with critiques of leading and representative thinkers is both lucid and illuminating.

Though the book is avowedly a compilation, its great value lies in the fact that it meets a real need, for though histories of philosophy are numerous, few, if any so far, have kept the difficulties of beginners in view. The book under notice is the first text-book on the subject, to our knowledge, which covers the entire field of philosophy in the western world. Written as it is with practically no philosophical bias, it is likely to appeal to students, and to general readers as well, who are interested in any phase of the human spirit's activity when presented in a scientifically historical manner. The treatment of the subject-matter throughout is apparently impartial and with a due sense of proportion. The maps add interest and the grouping of the writers of the Enlightenment and the comparative tables of dates are serviceable. There are, however, several inaccuracies and rather misleading statements in the second volume, which, though they do not materially mar the work as a whole, call for brief mention. The customary date for the beginning of the Protestant Reformation is not 1518 ; Leipnitz' mother was not a Pietist, since Pietism, technically so called, began in 1666 and she died in 1664. Newton did not die in 1722. One can hardly say that "from his [Locke's] theory of religion came Deism," since Deism antedated Locke, as the author indicates later, and Hume was probably not throwing bricks at Spinoza, as one might infer from the statement on p. 88. One the other hand it was Hume himself who used the expression "hideous hypothesis," meaning Spinoza's. Berkeley's work was the *Principles of Human Knowledge* and not "Human Nature" as stated on pp 172 and 177. It is but a half-truth to call Samuel Johnson "an Episcopal missionary," and Jonathan Edwards probably did not get the Berkeleian idealism from Johnson. (Cf. I. Woodbridge Riley, *American Philosophy*, 1907, p. 146.) Such a moot question demanded a footnote. The references to Hegel's *Logic* and *Encyclopædia* on pp. 318 and 338 should have been consistent, and the statement in the concluding paragraph that "at the beginning of the twentieth century there seems to be a reaction from the scientific positivism" should have been expanded to avoid misinterpretation. One further word of criticism might be added The handling of the scientific development would have been improved, if the Democritan influence had been pointed out more at length. The basis for this was laid in Vol. I, p. 116, but this early promise was not fulfilled.

We have not lighted upon any glaring inaccuracies in the first volume, but here especially our author's indebtedness to one of his predecessors—namely, Windelband (whose *History of Ancient Philosophy* he translated)—is rather striking. Occasionally there is a verbatim quotation from this book with no quotation marks, and in a number of places Windelband's treatment is simply translated into words of one syllable. Too much, however, must not be made of this, for in condensing the story of a long development of thought into a few words for the use of beginners it is well-nigh impossible to invent a perfectly new mode of presentation. The pedagogical merits of the book are very great by reason of its use of outlines, maps, and pictures, its sharp division of subjects into sub-heads (duly numbered), its labelled paragraphs (so that the student may always know what he is reading about), its short and clear sentences, its skilful simplification of difficult doctrines, and especially its interesting and helpful presentation of the relation between a given philosophy and the life of the times in which it originated. In spite, therefore, of the flaws both in statement and treatment, pointed out above, the work as a whole is admirable and is pre-eminently adapted to class-room purposes. Our universities would do well to prescribe it as a text-book for students taking up Philosophy, for it is an almost ideal text-book.

II.

The chief merit of Mr. C. Delish Burns' *Growth of Modern Philosophy* lies in the tracing of a gradual movement towards the position now held by thinkers in the West. With this end in view the author proceeds to expound the teachings of Bacon, Berkeley, Comte, Descartes, Fichte, Hamilton, Hegel, Herbert, Hume, Locke, Mill, Schopenhauer, Spencer, Spinoza, and many other modern philosophers. Philosophy, according to the author, is "an intellectual expression of the highest point of view obtainable with regard to experience as a whole" The intimacy of the connection between thought and life as it is lived by the thinker and his world is the central idea of his book, in which the development of thought, from the birth of the modern world at the Renaissance, is traced with a continual emphasis upon the fact that the vital core of true philosophy is experience. A publisher's note informs us that Mr. Burns lost his professorship of philosophy on the ground of "unorthodox teaching", as being a disciple of Father Tyrrell at the time when that thinker was cast out by the Church of Rome. In this volume, however, there is no approach to the subject of what is called Modernism. Mr. Burns is silent upon experience in the direction of the Supernatural. His treatise, clearly written, and with a firm grasp of his extensive subject, concludes with the suggestion that we have at last reached the possibility of a Western philosophy such as will explain the whole of experience as we know it—a hopeful view indeed to take in the face of the profoundly unsettling developments of contemporary physics and psychology. However that may be, the book is a succinct and faithful outline of the growth of modern European philosophy, and we recommend it as a very useful guide to students of the subject. It is embellished with sixteen excellent portrait illustrations in half-tone.

The Wisdom of Schopenhauer, as Revealed in Some of his Principal Writings, selected and translated by Mr. Walter Jekyll, is a most desirable addition to philosophical literature. Even if Schopenhauer had been forgotten, the influence which he is now known to have exercised on the soul of Nietzsche would have sent us afresh to his writings. But Schopenhauer has been forgotten, nor is he likely to be. He is popularly known as the great pessimist. Judged without bias, Schopenhauer was something better than a pessimist; and, indeed, the reader who is new to the philosopher's works will be surprised at the veracity, judiciousness, lucidity, and good sense of the sentiments expressed in the extracts so carefully chosen by Mr. Jekyll. Veracity, for example:—"I expect to be once more told that my philosophy is dismal. Well, this is because I tell the truth, whereas people want to hear that the Lord God has made all things in the best way. Go to church, you who think so, and leave philosophers in peace. At any rate, do not ask them to cut their doctrines to your pattern." As for good sense, let all who are interested in ethics study the admirable passages in which Schopenhauer indicates compassion (otherwise benevolence or sympathy) as the true basis of well-doing. Greeks, Christians, Mahomedans, Parsees, Hindus, Buddhists—how they all differ on religious sanctions; and yet they all acknowledge the beauty of compassion. The Indian plays conclude with the most beautiful prayer, "May all livings be free from pain"; and of this noble impulse Schopenhauer says:—"In all ages, among all situations of life, even in times of anarchy and amid the horrors of revolutions and wars, on a large scale as well on a small, every day and every hour, it manifests a decisive and truly wonderful influence, daily prevents much injustice, and brings forth many good deeds without hope of reward." The whole of this essay on the Basis of Ethics merits careful study. Of course, Schopenhauer's famous doctrine of the Will is also adequately set forth: "Man always does only what he wills, and yet he does it of necessity. This is because he already *is* what he will; for from what he is all that he can ever *do* flows necessarily." With this exposition of Will and the Will-to-live, Mr. Jekyll has coupled passages from the book on *Will in Nature*: and the chapter on Comparative Anatomy will pleasantly astonish the reader by its speculative excursion into zoology. For touches of German humour one may turn to the piece on "Noise." Schopenhauer is deep and weighty, but not difficult; and the present translation is done in the best English. It is very well known to students of philosophy that the great German philosopher was influenced in his speculations by the study of the *Upanishads*, and the book under notice should therefore be all the more welcome in India.

The *Selected Works of Voltaire*, translated, with an Introduction, by Mr. Joseph McCabe, deserves cordial welcome. "Many Protestants who scoff at Voltaire the 'scoffer,'" says Mr. McCabe in his excellent Introduction, "may learn with surprise that his noble and impassioned struggle earned for them the right to live in Southern France." This volume of wit and wisdom fitly ends with Voltaire's "Treatise on Toleration in Connection with the Death of Jean Calas." Besides the admirable lesson of toleration, these extracts from the voluminous writings of the author of the *Philosophical Dictionary* apply an unsurpassed irony to the doctrines and practices of Catholic Christianity.

Sometimes Voltaire combines both the tolerant spirit and the irony, as when he makes a sage citizen rise up and counsel the sects to live in peace and mutually embrace. "The Socinians need only embrace once, seeing that those gentlemen believe there is only one person in God; but this embrace will be equal to three when it is performed in good faith." Mr. McCabe's notes are both judicious and illuminating. No student of modern philosophy but should add this book to his library.

LITERATURE OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

Outlines of Indian Philosophy: By P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar. ("The Theosophist" Office, Adyar, Madras). 1911. Price Rs. 2.

The Doctrine of Maya: By Prof. Prabhu Dutt Shastri. (Luzac & Co. 46, Great Russell Street, London, W. C.) 1911. Price 3*s*. 6*d*.

The Philosophy of Brahmoism: By Sitanath Tattvabhushan. (Higginbotham & Co. Madras). 1911. Price Rs. 2-8.

Man: Social, Moral and Intellectual: By Pandit Biseshwar Pande. (R. P. Mukerji, 13 Brojonath Mitter Lane, Calcutta). 1911. Price Rs. 2.

The Song Divine or the Bhagavad Gita: Translated by E. E. Caleb, (Luzac & Co. 46, Great Russell Street. London, W. C.) 1911. 3*s*. 6*d*.

Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy: By (the late) Rev. K. M. Banerjea. (The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras). 1911. Price Rs. 2.

A Mirror of the Hindu Philosophical Systems: By Nehemiah Nilakantha Sastri Goreh. (The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras. 1911. Price Rs. 2.

Principles and Purpose of Vedanta: By Swami Paramananda. The Sri Ramakrishna Mission Home, Mylapore, Madras.) 1911. Price 4 as.

STUDENTS of Philosophy will do well to read the *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar. Within the comparatively small compass of 302 duodecimo pages the author describes in a scholarly manner all the chief developments of Indian philosophy. In addition to the mode of presentation, which is generally clear, instructive and attractive, he deserves much credit for his valuable studies of the Saiva schools, which have received far too little recognition from Western scholars. Naturally, in this vast field there is abundance of room for differences of opinion, and Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar sometimes expresses views that will not perhaps win universal assent. But his work is always thoughtful, and is likely to be indispensable to all serious students for many years. The author has presented a full and critical survey of the fundamental teachings of the Vedanta, Sankya, Agama, Vaiseshika and Nyaya and the Purvamimamsa systems and his treatment is characterised by lucidity and scholarship. He has employed the comparative method in his study, to the great advantage of Eastern and Western students. The former are given an idea of how Western *savants* have tackled these philosophical questions and the latter are introduced to the results of attempts of Eastern thinkers, in centuries gone by, to investigate the phenomena of the universe and the mystery of human existence. He has thrown new light on the Agama school in all its branches of Saiva, Sakta and Vaishnava, on which he says the working faith of the Hindus of to-day is based and from which the actual opinions and religious practices of Hindus are taken. The work under review consists of three chapters. The first chapter sets out and explains what the author conceives as the fundamental doctrines upon which all schools of Indian philosophy are agreed absolutely, and about which Western philosophers are hopelessly divided. The author points out that most of the systems are really atheistic (except the Vedanta which is pantheistic) though the later commentators generally give a theistic twist to them. It may be mentioned that the author excludes two important Indian systems—the Buddha and the Jaina—from his sketch, as the foregoing view of a common platform does not apply to them. This is perhaps to be regretted seeing what great influence the Buddhistic doctrines have had on other Indian systems, especially the Adwaita, and that Jainism is almost a living system now, counting many thousands of followers. In spite of these limitations Mr Srinivasa Iyengar's work is a notable contribution to the study of Indian philosophy, and will serve as an excellent guide to students who wish to have an authoritative exposition of the leading doctrines of the traditional schools as propounded by their earliest founders. In the preparation of this work the author has laid under contribution practically all the leading authorities on the Indian and European systems of philosophy, thus enhancing its value to students of both. We have much pleasure in commending this book to students of philosophy both in the East and the West and congratulate the author on the great service he has done to India by popularizing its highest products in the intellectual world.

Professor Prabhu Duth Shastri is a distinguished Panjabee scholar, who has just returned from Europe after having achieved great distinction there in Philosophy. The first fruit of his labours is presented in his *Doctrine of Maya*, with especial reference to the great Indian system known as the Vedanta. The author rightly regards the doctrine of Maya as "the pivotal principle in the Advaita Philosophy, the final pronouncement of Indian speculation on the conception of Reality and Appearance." The work deals with the history of the word "Maya," and then the development of the conception it embodies, ending with a discussion of the objections to it urged by Indian critics—objections which the author most successfully refutes. The book is a learned and luminous contribution to the study of the subject and the literature of Indian philosophy is all the richer for its publication. It is marked by a deep and rare scholarship, and we look forward with interest to the Professor's promised studies in the examination of the various analogies of the concept embodied by "Maya" in the philosophy of the West and some other eastern countries. In the meantime we offer our hearty congratulations to the author on the production of his work under notice.

Perhaps no Bengalee has achieved such high distinction in the realm of pure thought as Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan, with whose brilliant contributions on philosophical subjects the readers of the *Hindustan Review* are no doubt familiar, he being one of the most valued contributors to this periodical. His latest work—*The Philosophy of Brahmoism*—is a comprehensive treatise on the doctrines, the system of spiritual culture and the social and religious ideals of the Brahmos. Apart from the exposition of the tenets of Brahmoism, the book serves the very useful purpose of presenting a systematic exposition of the principles of Theism, on which the author has tried to establish the fabric of Brahmoism. This book is the first serious effort to state philosophically the tenets of Brahmoism and, as such, no serious student of the subject can afford to neglect it. The author does not state *ex-cathedra* the tenets of the Brahmo faith, but he states carefully, with a reason for his belief, what he believes Brahmoism stands for philosophically. All who are anxious to know more of Brahmoism and its philosophic basis, will find in this book much that will assist them in their study. But apart from its especial value as such, it has merits which will commend it to all students of philosophy, for it is a scholarly work characterised by learning and piety of a very high order and is quite worthy of taking rank with the most learned treatises of Europe and America on the philosophy of Theism.

Pandit Biseshwar Pande's *Man: Social, Moral and Intellectual*, is an attempt to place in an English garb, his book *Manabtatwa*. Though the scope of the book is fairly comprehensive, yet it is not surprising that there should be gaps in the scheme. But whatever the difference of opinion on certain views of the author, there can be no hesitation in giving him credit for his having taken so much pains for the enlightenment of the people. The chapters on Universe, Mainfestation, Creation, Civilisation, and the Position of the Sexes are very interesting and instructive, so are those on God, Religion and Religious Duties. The book has been sent out to the world under the hope that it may contribute to win appreciation and approbation for the ancient wisdom of the Hindus, and we trust it will achieve the object in view. It is a useful publication and will certainly exercise an influence for good. It should be studied carefully by all who are anxious to obtain an insight into Hindu thought.

We confess it was with some trepidation that we look up Dr. Caleb's metrical rendering of the Bhagavad Gita, for though the author deservedly enjoys a high reputation in the Punjab for his professional skill, he was not known to the public as a man of letters. The success which he has achieved in his translation is thus all the more agreeably surprising. His metrical rendering into English of the best-known philosophical classic of India betrays the hand of a scholar of English and a deep student of Philosophy. The translator frankly admits that he does not know Sanskrit, but by comparing and collating all the available translations and with the assistance of a friend, he has managed most successfully to overcome the difficulty and has turned out a work which will rank high as a work of literary merit and take the place of honour in the translations of the Gita, admittedly one of the greatest and most remarkable products of human intellect. We have read and re-read Dr. Caleb's translation with great pleasure and offer him our congratulations on his success in a difficult task. It is certainly the most readable translation in English of the great Indian classic.

The next two books in our list—the late Dr. K. M. Banerjee's *Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy* and Pandit Nilakantha Goreh's *Mirror of the Hindu Philosophical Systems*—are *verbatim* reprints of well-known works by two apostates from Hinduism. They both appeared in 1861, the former having been written in English and the latter translated into it by the late Dr. Hall, from the original Hindi. Thus when they were first written, fifty years back, the literature of Hindu philosophy was not half so well explored as now and the antagonistic standpoint adopted by the authors could not conduce to an impartial treatment of the subject. They do not seem to have realized—what is so happily put by Mathew Arnold—that "to see things in their beauty is to see them in their truth." Yet these books hold a high place in the literature of philosophical controversy and polemical as they both are in their treatment and spirit, they nevertheless deserve attention at the hands of students of Indian philosophy. The publishers have done well to reprint these rare books.

During the last few years members of the Ramakrishna Mission have travelled in various parts of the world, preaching and teaching the doctrines of the Vendanta philosophy. Since the visit to America of the late Swami Vivekananda, several members of the Mission have established themselves there, and organised religious classes. The lectures are clear, complete, concise and authoritative expositions of the Vedanta philosophy, and their publication has done much to popularise the teachings of this school with modern educated Indians in India and with European students who are attracted by them. Numerous publications have been issued by the Mission, comprising records of discourses delivered by individual workers. Swami Ramakrishnananda, who has been doing such good work in Madras, has written several illuminating books. One of these is *Sri Ramkrishna and his Mission.* Another is entitled *The Soul of Man*, which is a discussion of the scientific and philosophic aspects of the beliefs relating to the question. The book, while scholarly in its treatment, presents the problem in an easily comprehensible form. Swami Paramananda, another member of the Mission, is responsible for the work, *Vedanta in Practice*, in which the doctrines of this school are expounded with reference to their application in the solution of practical problems of life, enforced by means of illustrations clothed in a simple and yet forcible language. Another work of the same Swami dealing with the Vedanta is *Principles and Purpose of Vedanta*. It succinctly gives in the compass of a few pages the salient features of this great philosophic system. While mainly intended for readers in the West, it will be of no less value to such Anglo-Indians and even Indians as are not in a position to obtain access to standard treatises on the subject. A work on the same lines is *Sankhyayoga—Karmayoga* or "The Philosophy of Science and Religion." It is a translation of three lectures in Hindi by Swami Atmananda. All these publications indicate a notable and healthy revival of the study of Indian philosophy.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE : MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

MR. T. FISHER UNWIN (London) has published a new edition of Mr. T. Ramakrishna's *Life in an Indian Village* (2s. 6d. net). The volume originally appeared in 1890, with an introduction by Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff which has become a trifle out of date, with its references to Chief Secretaries of a vanished generation, but which still holds the place of honour. It is a book well worth reading by the student of Indian questions. When the late Mr. G. W. Steevens visited India in 1898 he declared that in Madras he found "the India that was expected—the India of our childhood and of our dreams." As he put it, the Englishman's picture of India is "the reflection of Madras." But in order to learn about Madras the traveller must accompany Mr. Ramakrishna, and he must go to the village. Nearly ninety per cent. of the population of the Southern Presidency live in its 55,000 villages. Mr. Ramakrishna takes a typical one—Kalambakam, in the Chingleput district, and midway between the historic towns of Conjeeveeram and Mahabalipuram—and enumerates in turn the different persons living in it and the several duties they perform. His style is of the simplest, and there is no striving after rhetorical effect. But this is to be accounted altogether to his merit. Englishmen get extraordinarily scanty glimpses of the real life of India's millions : and there could be no better instructor than Mr. Ramkrishna.

Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., publishers, Madras, have brought out a complete and up-to-date collection of all the speeches delivered by His Majesty the King-Emperor during his first tour in India as Prince of Wales and his second tour in connection with the Coronation Durbar. No speech of any importance relating to India has been omitted ; and to make this handy collection of His Majesty's Indian Speeches doubly valuable, a useful appendix has been added, containing among others, the text of the announcement relating to the Coronation Durbar Boons ; the Proclamations of H. M. King George, Queen Victoria and King Edward the Seventh on their accession to the throne and the messages of Queen Victoria and King Edward to the Durbars of 1877 and of 1903. The book contains a fine portrait of Their Majesties as frontispiece and seven other illustrations. We hope that this handy volume will be welcomed by the millions of His Majesty's subjects not only in India but all over the British Empire. It is priced at a rupee.

Messrs. Hutchinson and Co., (of Paternoster Row, London) are publishing shortly a book written by an English clergyman, the Rev. E. St. C. Weeden, who has been for nearly twenty years an intimate friend of the Maharaja of Baroda and who has recently spent a year with His Highness in India. Mr. Weeden was the first European to stay in the palace at Baroda and to be admitted into the society of the Maharani and the family circle there. His book throws a very amiable light on the home life of the ruler of Baroda. It is in no way controversial, and the author apparently has nothing more in his mind than to record a unique experience which he found amusing and fascinating, but on almost every page will be found indications of genuine respect and admiration for the qualities of his host, of gratitude for his great kindness of heart, and of sympathy with his aspirations for the welfare of his people. The title of the book will be *A Year with the Gaekwar*. The book is likely to be of great interest to readers in this country.

In 1896, in co-operation with Pandit Sankara Balkrishna Dikshit, well-known as a specialist in matters relating to Indian astronomy, the calendar, etc., Mr. Sewell, I.C.S. (retired)., published the *Indian Calendar*, a volume intended for the guidance of courts and offices in India, and for the use of epigraphists and historians. The instructions and tables contained therein enable Indian dates to be converted into European reckoning with ease and rapidity, and afford the means of testing the accuracy of any date entered in a document of former times. The work is calculated therefore to form a useful check against forgery, seeing that few forgers possess such a knowledge of astronomy as to be able accurately to record, according to Hindu practice, all the details of an ancient date they may desire to establish. It has, however, been found that, in common with other works of the kind, the *Indian Calendar* suffers in places from a certain amount of obscurity, in spite of all efforts to be clear

Mr. Sewell, desiring therefore to remedy this state of things, has spent two or three years in the preparation of a new volume—*Indian Chronography*. He has explained in it the reason for every process, has introduced a number of new and useful tables, has invented some simpler methods of work, has included some new matter, such as tables and rules for finding the position of Jupiter at any moment, and his longitude both true and mean—matters which enter largely into Indian chronography—has attempted to give clear rules for every branch of calculation, and has added a large number of fully-worked examples by way of showing how the book and the tables are to be used. The price will be 31s. 6d. net ; and it will be is published by Messrs. George Allen and Co. (London).

Readers interested in the study of the history of the Japanese Empire should turn to a very comprehensive and thoroughly accurate work, the first volume of which has just been published by Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. (London). It is by Mr. James Murdoch, M. A., sometime Assistant Professor of Greek in the Aberdeen University and is called *A History of Japan*. The first volume brings down the narrative from the earliest period to the arrival of the Portuguese in 1542 A.D. It contains a number of interesting maps by Isoh Yamagata. In the course of an article on Japan in the *Literary Guide* for December, 1911, Professor Basil Chamberlain—one of the greatest authorities on things Japanese—refers to Mr. Murdoch's history as "the only critical work on the subject in English." We look forward with interest to th publication of the remaining volumes.

We have received the first volume of *The Thesaurus of Knowledge, Divine and Temporal ; or, The Vedas and their Angas and Upangas*, in which the author, Mr. Behari Lal, of Jubbulpore, makes a valiant attempt to present a conspectus of the nature and contents of the whole of Vedic literature. In his view, the four Vedas are the eternal and infallible revelation of the Supreme, to which the rest of Vedic literature is subordinate ; and their doctrine he conceives to be one of pure Theism—the Supreme (Brahma, Atma, Paramatma), the human Soul, and Matter, being mutually and eternally distinct. In pursuance of this theory, he summarizes the contents of Vedic literature, and endeavours to prove his hypothesis from the statements of works subsequent to the Vedas, and to discredit the interpretations of such relatively late authors as Sayana, Mahidhara, and Uvvata. He then seeks to determine the nature of the rituals countenanced by genuine Vedic doctrine, from which he excludes the worship of deceased ancestors and human and animal sacrifice ; and he then passes on to set forth the doctrines of soul-transmigration and "Karma," which he maintains to be taught in the Vedas. While his central theological doctrine is closely akin to that of Madhva, his method of interpretation is often similar to that of the Arya Samaj. For the latter reason we confess that we are glad to see this book. It is to be feared that its main hypotheses will not be accepted by critical students, despite its learning and a certain cogency in details of argument ; but, whether it be right or wrong on these heads, we realize how much the Arya Samaj has done towards restoring the moral self-respect and the intellectual interest of modern India.

The commercial value of Africa, no less than the fascination which it affords to the casual reader, could in no way be better proved than by the annuals which are published dealing solely with this Continent. The *African World* (London) was the first with illustrated annuals of general interest, and this year they are, to quote their own advertisement, "finer and fatter than ever." One called *Egypt and the Sudan* deals with those countries, another called the *African World Christmas Annual*, covers fully the whole of Africa, and a third, *Fascinating Egypt*, deals with Egypt in convenient book form. The articles which they contain are brightly written and of very large interest, while a special feature has been made of panoramic photographs, which we have never seen equalled in any publication of any kind. It is not too much to say that in order to be *au fait* with African affairs, political, commercial, and social, it is necessary to become a possessor of these valuable annuals.

Brave Citizens, by Mr. F. J. Gould, with an Introduction by G. P. Gooch, M. A. (Watts and Co., London) is an ideal book for youths. The duties of the civic life as a branch of ethics receives amongst us an imperfect appreciation. Mr. Gould's new book, therefore, which consists of a collection of stories which to the merit of truth add a valuable ethical significance, deserves a hearty welcome. From the founding of the Lifeboat Institution to the building of the Hague Palace of Peace, Mr. Gould ranges through the records of heroism, skill, knowledge, and labour, in many lands and many ranks of life, revealing the nobility and unselfish persistency of man's conquest of Nature and his efforts for the well-being of the race. Not on the blood-stained battlefield does he find his heroes ; it is the grander and more difficult victories of peace which he celebrates with no uncertain sound. He is a born story-teller—terse, picturesque, and going straight to the point ; and his glowing style, is on the whole an admirable medium for the vivid illustration of ethical truth and social duty. The Introduction by Mr. Gooch is excellent. We would be glad to see the book prescribed as a text-book for Matriculation in Indian universities.

A knowledge of India is slowly spreading even in the United States of America. *The Dial* of Chicago—the best known critical literary journal of America—had recently an excellent review of some of the latest books dealing with this country. We reproduce the introductory paragraph as an indication of the sympathetic insight of the reviewer :—"Americans are beginning to do decidedly more reading about British India. The incentives range from the deeper and more definite concern with oriental world politics that followed our acquisition of the Philippines, to the picturesqueness of the Delhi durbars, the readability of Mr. Kipling at his best, or the number of missionaries. The only surprise is that the growth of active interest has been so slow : for it is inconceivable that anybody should fail to find something to attract and hold him, if he will ever glance at that incredible peninsula. Nor should this dangerously comprehensive statement be narrowed by limiting its application to students of art or philosophy, or ethnology, or religion, or history, or government. It is obvious that all these must find a rich and even boundless field in India ; but for other less exalted mortals the attractiveness is just as compelling. For instance, a sturdy New Zealand traveller on the Pacific said to me : "I don't care a straw about architecture or that sort of rot, but the Taj Mahal is in my heart forever." One unpretentious and thoroughly American woman declared that any railway station in India was better than the best circus in the United States. Occasionally, it is true, you meet the creature who sees in Benares not the "Oxford and Mecca of Hinduism," not the most striking river front in the world, with its combination of temples, palaces, pinnacles, shrines, towers and minarets," but simply the dirtiest and worst-smelling city on the globe. However, such a person is rare; and if one finds no joy in Benares, there remain the villages, the plains, the Himalayas, the birds, the beasts, Agra, Udaipur, Delhi, and Amber,—a thousand sources of pleasure. Only one visitor have I ever met who felt discontent with everything; but he was an elderly American millionaire travelling in his private car, and his own charming wife smiled upon him with an infinite pity that he could not comprehend."

One of the many books published in connection with the Coronation Durbar, *Who's Who in India* is likely to be of the most permanent interest. This work, published by the well-known Newul Kishore Press, of Lucknow, contains the biographies of ruling chiefs, noblemen, title-holders and eminent Indians, and is sumptuously produced. The de luxe edition contains a large number of excellent photographs, and the other editions also contain some five hundred excellent photographic reproductions. We understand that a supplementary volume will shortly be issued containing biographies and photographs of the gentlemen who were the recipients of titles on the Durbar Day. The book under notice is a revised and up-to-date edition in English of a vernacular work entitled *Sahifa-i-zarin*, issued by the same press on the occasion of the Curzon Durbar. The major portion of the work has been compiled from Government and other records, and no pains have been spared to make the work a reliable and complete handbook of Indian notabilities. *Who's Who in India*, therefore. will be not only a unique memento of the visit of their most Gracious Majesties of the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress to India, but will supply a long-felt want in a large number of Indian homes and offices, and will be an indispensable reference book to editors of newspapers throughout the world. It should supersede in the reference library Sir Roper Lethbridge's *Golden Book of India*, the last edition of which appeared so far back as 1900. But if the book is to serve its object, it must appear annually or at frequent intervals. The book is sold in three editions, the "Popular" in one volume at Rs. 15, the "Coronation," in two volumes at Rs. 60, and the superb "de luxe" at Rs. 200.

Mr. Kipling has lately lent his hand to the perparation of a history of England for children (Henry Frowde, London). He shares responsibility with Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher and his is likely the minor part since his name stands second of the author's. For all that his reputation has attracted to the volume an unwonted attention, some of it of a nature that can not be called entirely flattering to Mr. Kipling. He never answers back, however, being satisfied with an attitude of "what I have written I have written." In the Manchester *Guardian* Mr. John Masefield, the well-known dramatist, declares that "as a work of history it is nearly as worthless as a book can be; as a work designed to influence the minds of children, it is the most pernicious we have seen". For these reasons: "It is little more than a glorification of bloody and violent deeds, and an exhortation towards conscription, a strong navy, an army that 'could bite by land,' tariff reform, the suppression of liberal ideas, the dislike and distrust of foreigners; in fact, the general programme of cowardice and bloodiness which delighted the national heart twelve years ago". "The authors seem to become aware, from time to time, that they are talking nonsense," says Mr. Masefield. "Whenever this happens they sit upon the fence." As to the literary merit of the book—which is in prose and verse, the latter being Mr. Kipling's composition—it is, says the *Literary Guide*, "almost past belief that the writer who gave us *The Seven Seas* and *Barrack-Room Ballads* should have descended to writing doggerel." It continues :—"Apart from the rhymes, the book is fatuous. King Charles is glorified as "a martyr for the English Church and its government by bishops, a martyr for our dear and beautiful Prayer-book." The Irish people are described as "wild and barbarous," and we are gravely told that Ireland "never went to school." The English people fare almost as badly: "The outcry of the poor against the rich was a most distressing feature." In another place we are soberly informed : "It is possible to have too much freedom." The whole thing is a nightmare. That Mr. Kipling should lapse into such a literary indiscretion is a tragedy, and that the Clarendon Press should publish it is a worse one."

The *Sanskrit First Reader* and the *Sanskrit Second Reader*, by Mr. S. R. Nilakanta Sastry, Assistant Pandit, C. M. S. College, Tinnevelly, are most excellent introductions to the mysteries of the language of the gods. That they have in the course of but a few years passed into socond edition, is ample proof of their popularity with students, that their first editions elicited very favourable appreciations from not only the press but from many competent European and American scholars, testifies to their excellence. They have already been prescribed for use in the schools of Madras, the Punjab and Travancore, and we shall be glad to see them in use in other provinces and States.

IN THE PUBLIC EYE.

THE HON'BLE SIR JAMES MESTON, K. C. S. I.

OUR Lieutenant-Governor-designate, whose appointment has given universal satisfaction all over the Indian Empire, is one of the most distinguished members of the Indian Civil Service and has long since made his mark as a capable administrator, a sound financier and, above all, a very sympathetic friend of the Indian people. Sir James—who was born in 1865—comes of an old Scotch family, which was closely associated with France in the days of the Restoration and has even now branches in Normandy. He was educated principally at home, before he went to the Aberdeen University, where he read under the well-known Homeric scholar, Geddes, and the no less distinguished William Minto. From Aberdeen he went to Balliol College, Oxford, where he sat at the feet of that renowned Greek scholar—Jowett. He competed for the Indian Civil Service in 1883 and came out to India in 1885. On his reporting arrival he was—to our great good luck—posted to the United Provinces.

Like all young Civilians in the Regulation provinces, Mr. Meston started as an Assistant Magistrate. In those days the age fixed for the open competition of the Civil Service was less than what it has been now for many years, and the Civilians, therefore, arrived younger than they do now. Technically, Mr. Meston was under age when he was acting as Assistant Magistrate, and it is, therefore, not surprising that one of the grounds of appeal taken against his first criminal judgment was to the effect that " the learned Magistrate is a minor." In due course Mr. Meston became a Joint Magistrate and for some years went through the ordinary mill of executive and judicial duties, before he got drafted into settlement work. He co-operated with the late Mr. Impey in the settlement of Jhansi. While so engaged he realised the drawbacks of a rigid settlement in tracts like Bundelkhand—liable to grave agricultural fluctuations—and pressed on the revenue authorities the need for greater elasticity in the settlement methods, but it need hardly be added that he did so in vain. The "sun-dried bureaucrats" of those days were not disposed to listen to the suggestions of a junior in settlement work and so Mr. Meston's suggestions came to naught, but the incident all the same affords an insight into the views of our Lieutenant-Governor-designate—views which have always been marked by a deep and genuine sympathy for the people—both the masses and the educated classes. From Jhansi, Mr. Meston was transferred to Budaun where he was placed in independent charge of the settlement of the district. Here he stayed for four years, engaged in what was to him a labour of love. These four years spent in the settlement of Budaun, Sir James regards as the happiest time in his life. The work was most congenial to him and he acquired in the course of it a thorough and deep insight into the realities of Indian life, while it deepened his sympathy and affection for the people.

At the end of the Budaun settlement, Mr. Meston served for two years as the Director of Land Records and Agriculture, and it was from this office that the eagle eye of Sir Antony MacDonnell drafted him into the Secretariat as Financial Secretary. Compared with the strenuous financial time we are now living in, those were peaceful days when provincial needs were few and a four crore with the Government of India was looked upon as the ideal of bliss. It was as Financial Secretary that Mr. Meston made his mark both as a keen debater and a sound financier and came to be regarded as the coming man in the province. He took up municipal and "lokil sluff" with great zeal and helped to get them—especially the latter—put on a sounder financial basis.

After these many years of strenuous and unremitting labour, Mr. Meston took his first furlough in 1903, but had only used part of it, when he was asked to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope as adviser in a scheme for Civil Service reformation in that colony. While there he was offered the post of the permanent head of the treasury at the Cape, but he preferred to stick to his first love—India. Having also found that Dr. Jameson's Afrikander government had no interest in real reform, he gladly accepted an offer of a similar but much more useful post in the Transvaal. He relinquished this post in 1906, on being offered the post of the Financial Secretary to the Government of India, and left the work in the Transvaal to be finished with distinguished success by that young but brilliant officer, Mr. Marris, who is now the District Officer of Aligarh.

In 1908, during the interregnum between the appointment of Sir Guy Wilson as Finance Member and his arrival to take charge of his office, Mr. Meston acted for some months as the Member in charge of the Finance portfolio. In this capacity he was a signatory to the memorable despatch of Lord Minto's Government to Lord Morley, embodying their final conclusions on the scheme of constitutional reform, which has since come into operation. Mr. Meston has now acted for over five years in the Finance Department and has had a very strenuous time of it, indeed. His invaluable services to the department were openly acknowledged last year by his chief, the Finance Member, in the course of the financial statement for 1911-12, in which he was referred to by Sir Guy as his "dear friend, Mr. Meston". They have been more recently recognized by His Majesty the King-Emperor by the conferring on him of the Knight Commandership of the exalted order of the Star of India. As the Financial Secretary, Mr. Meston has been undoubtedly the most popular official in the new reformed council, with the non-official members, whom he has freely helped with not only useful suggestions but with facts and figures drawn from the official sources, which have not unoften enabled them to frame successful indictments against the Government of India. Once last year when Mr. Meston was trying to demolish an argument of 'Mr. Gokhale's, the latter remarked in his reply that the argument advanced by him, which the Financial Secretary had tried to refute, had been suggested to him by the Financial Secretary himself—an observation which, of course, evoked roars of laughter. It may safely be said that many of the "terrible" indictments framed by some of the prominent non-official members against the measures and the policy of the Government could not have been half so effective but for the material assistance given to them by Mr. Meston. As a debater, he has come to occupy a very high position in the Council and his speeches are always listened to with rapt attention. He is no orator in the ordinary sense of the term but his powers of elucidation of difficult and complicated financial problems are truly remarkable, and the wonder is, that in spite of his being a typical Scotchman, there are actually gleams of humour in his speeches.'

Such is the new Lieutenant-Governor of our province. His career has been truly distinguished and his experience vast and varied. Genuine liberalism is a striking and prominent feature of his ideas and work and though from a sense of official discipline he voted last year against the proposal to endow our local Government with an Executive Council, it my safely be taken for granted that perhaps the first great measure of reform during Sir James's regimé will be the establishment of such a council and the glory of being the first truly "constitutional" ruler of our province will be his. Altogether, these provinces have been exceptionally lucky in having got Sir James Meston as their ruler, and our people may look forward to an era of peace, progress and prosperity for the five years during which Sir James will wield their destinies. His exceptionally brilliant career and truly abiding sympathy for the requirements of our masses as also the legitimate aspirations of the educated classes justify the hope that Sir James Meston's administration will be a landmark in the history of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

THE OPEN FORUM:
CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS & COMMENTS.

The Press and the Darbar.

THE *Hindustan Review* for February publishes an editorial lament over the absence of journalists from the Honours' list, which would, we think, have been, better unwritten. We forgive our contemporary everything, however, for the sake of two delightful epigrams on this sore subject. Here is one. How have the officials and noblemen fared in the Honours' lists? They have had—to translate a Hindustani phrase—all their five fingers in the "ghee." "In fact," proceeds the Reviewer, bitterly. So far as these classes are concerned, it is a case of "I am Knighted", "Thou art Knighted," "He is Knighted." Long may they all live to enjoy their well-earned titles, decorations and distinctions! Amen, and amen?—The *Empire*.

In the current number of the *Hindustan Review*, the editor writes with evident dissatisfaction that no Indian journalist's name figured in the Durbar Honours' List. Lord Curzon in the last Durbar selected three Anglo-Indian journalists for honour—one of whom has turned out his biographer. But we hardly think that Indian journalists look for this kind of recognition of their work. Nor is it likely that the more successful journalists yearn for honours. Mr. Malabari returned the Kaiser-i-Hindu Medal awarded by Lord Curzon, and if the late Rai Narendra Nath Sen Bahadur had been living, he would probably have come in for a share in the list. The *Review* writes: How have the officials and noblemen fared in the Honours' lists? They have had—to translate a Hindustani phrase—all their five fingers in the *ghee*. So far as the official classes are concerned, it is a case of "I am Kaighted". "Thou a Knighted." "He is Knighted." Long may they all live to enjoy their well-earned titles, decorations and distinctions!" We do not think that the bulk of the senior journalists of India exactly share this sense of neglect. There is the serious danger of journalism lapsing into a weak and ineffective instrument if its members hanker after titles. Not that they do not appreciate honours, but the anticipation of official rewards and recognition is, from a purely journalistic point of view, fatal to the profession. We do not think that in England or elsewhere the very best journalists are those that have received the honour of appreciation from the Government. Why should it be otherwise in India?—The *Panjabee*.

The Hindustan Review.

The *Hindustan Review*, for February, is a good number. Among the articles in it on Indian subjects are "Indian Women," by R. C. Bonnerjee, "The Proposed Moslem University", by S. M. Rauf Ali, and "Indians in the State Service", by Joteylal Sharma. Dr. Coomaraswamy reviews Mr. Havell's recent "Ideals of Ancient Art" with appreciative discrimination, pointing out various minor defects in it and criticising his over-combative method.—The *Times of India*.

THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—"*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard*." (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Literator*.)

MOTTO II.—"Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thought or points of view; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange. (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation*.)

A Condolence.

OUR deepest sympathy with our friend Mr. Nandkishore Lall, M. A., B. L., Vakil, Gaya, on the irreparable loss sustained by him in the sudden and premature death of his wife. Mr. Nandkishore Lall is one of the prominent public men of Behar and has been intimately associated for the last twenty years in the movement which has now culminated in the separation of that province from Bengal. The sympathies, therefore, of a very large section of the people of Behar will be extended to him on this mournful occasion. If sorrow shared is sorrow soothed, he may truly feel the consolation that his loss is shared by all his friends and admirers.

A Kayastha "Fellow."

We are much gratified to learn that the distinction of being the first Kayastha Fellow of the Panjab university has fallen to the lot of our friend, Mr. Gopal Chand, B. A., L.L.B., of Lahore, who has been elected by the registered graduates—a fact which adds to the value of the honour. Mr. Gopal Chand is a rising member of the Lahore Bar and has been for the last few years prominently before the public as the secretary of the Panjab Hindu Sabha. We offer him our sincere congratulations and trust that yet higher distinctions and honours are yet in store for him as the reward of public services already rendered and to be rendered.

The Kayastha Conference.

As already announced by us, the Kayastha Conference will meet during the ensuing Easter holidays (in the first week of April next) at Ajodhiya and suggestions are being made for the nomination of the President. Mr. Iswar Saran has suggested in the *Leader* the name of Mr. (ex-Justice) Sarada Charan Mitra and his selection has been approved by Munshi Govind Prasad, M. A., Dr. Ranjit Singh and other leaders of the Kayastha community in these provinces. It has been repeatedly urged in the *Hindustan Review* that the time had come when an organized effort should be made to bring about greater solidarity between the Bengalee and the Hindustani Kayasthas and holding as we do this view, we give our unqualified support to the principle underlying Mr. Iswar Saran's suggestion. As to the particular individual on whom the choice should fall, Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra is fully deserving of the honour, and we trust that the Reception Committee will elect him. If for some reason or other Mr. Mitra be not available, we would suggest the name of the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, who—as evidenced by his Marriage Bill—is a keen social reformer and thus pre-eminently qualified to be elected to the presidential chair of a social conference. We hope the Reception Committee will rise equal to the occasion and elect Mr. Mitra, or failing him Mr. Basu. If either of these gentlemen is not elected, there will be legitimate cause of complaint among a large section of Kayasthas. The Conference has had—in its long muster-roll—more than one mediocre for its president, the men of the type of the proverbial Damri Lal, Chhedami Prasad or Chhatanki Sahay. It is time that it had an ex-Judge like Mr. Mitra or an Imperial Councillor like Mr. Basu.

Latest Law Publications.

THE

Indian Decisions

(Old and New Series)

Vols. I and II of the Old Series and Vols. I and II of the New Series are ready for despatch: The succeeding volumes will be issued in quick succession.

THE

All-India Digest

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